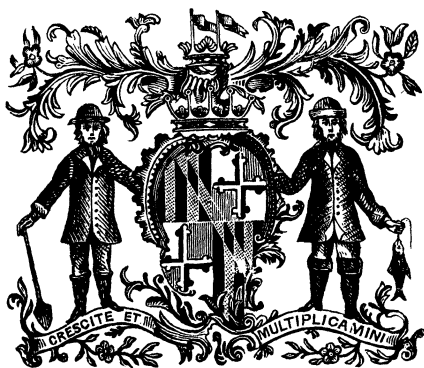


MARTIN BEHAIM,  
THE  
German Astronomer and Cosmographer  
OF  
THE TIMES OF COLUMBUS:  
BRING THE TENTH ANNUAL DISCOURSE  
BEFORE THE  
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
*On JANUARY 25th, 1855.*  
BY JOHN G. MORRIS, D. D.



Baltimore: . . Printed for the Maryland Historical Society,

BY JOHN MURPHY & CO.

1855.



## Martin Behaim.

---

THERE are many men who have acted conspicuous parts in scenes of thrilling historical interest, whose names are little known to general readers, and whose surpassing merits are not properly appreciated. They have been either lost in the more refulgent light of brighter luminaries, or have been purposely over-looked by cotemporaneous historians. Fellow laborers in the same field of investigation, who have left records of their own operations, may have from envy or interested selfishness, disregarded their claims to distinction or only casually mentioned their names as associated with themselves. Thus often, real merit in science, literature and art, is depreciated, and many a man, on the other hand, gains credit for what he never achieved, and receives a reward which he never deserved. But posterity often awards to a man the honor which his cotemporaries have denied him. All history demonstrates this fact. There is a resurrection of genius, which had long been buried in oblivion. Envy and detraction may dig its grave and bury it; but eventually it comes forth reanimate. It was not dead; it only slept.

Historians and poets of the olden time speak of various statues, and other works executed by distinguished artists of their day, which then attracted the admiration of the world of taste and refinement, but most of them with even the names of the artists also, have perished. Now and then, one is exhumed from amid the rubbish of some ancient temple, and men of artistic taste and knowledge recognize it as the long lost production of some celebrated sculptor of antiquity. It may be mutilated to some extent, but the modern artist sets to work and repairs it. He endeavors to restore it to its original beauty and symmetry, and however he may fail, yet the ancient artist's name is rescued from oblivion, and posterity awards him due honor.

Let ours be the task of bringing out from undeserved obscurity, a man famous and powerful in his day, but now known only to comparatively few; a man cotemporary with the discovery of our country,—the associate and assistant of Columbus,—the fellow voyager with many of the great navigators of that period,—a man to whom his too ardent friends have attributed the discovery of this continent, but whilst he does not deserve, and never claimed that distinction, still by his astronomical and geographical science, far in advance of most men of his generation, as well as by his superior skill in the preparation of nautical instruments and charts, contributed much to the splendid geographical discoveries of that adventurous age.

We allude to MARTIN BEHAIM of Germany. His name is not as familiar to us as those of Columbus, and Vespuccius, Magellan, and de Gama, but it will be shown that his services were not less valuable,



and his merits not less commendable. Probably exceeding them all in scientific acquirements, he not less deserves the admiration and gratitude of mankind. His name has been for several ages somewhat obscured, but it is beginning to shine forth in its original lustre. The bright, particular star is emerging from the cloud which for years had partly concealed it, and it now again holds a conspicuous place in the firmament of science. Professor Ghillany of Nurnberg, of all others, deserves most credit for resuscitating the name of Behaim, and to his magnificent work on this subject, all future historians and biographers must go for full and authentic information.

The Historical Society of Maryland does not confine its researches exclusively to the history of our own State, but extends them to other lands and other ages; and hence it will not be thought improper to introduce a subject foreign to our own land and age.

Before we enter more particularly on our specific subject, we shall dwell for a few minutes on some facts of great historical interest closely connected with it.

The whole history of the discovery of our country is full of interest. We do not allude merely to the adventurous daring, the appalling sufferings, the unconquerable perseverance, the lion hearted energy of the men who achieved it, all of which have been so graphically described by historians, and by none so well as by our own illustrious countryman, Mr. Irving, but we allude to the scientific results of those various expeditions, and we shall confine ourselves for the present more particularly to some of

the maps and charts, which these bold adventurers prepared. It will be seen that whilst they are exceedingly imperfect and erroneous in many respects, yet they are objects of deep interest to men who study the early history of our continent.

To Humboldt we are indebted for the publication of the earliest *pen and ink* map of America, extant. There is but one copy of the original known, and that belongs to the valuable collection of the distinguished Baron Walckenaer of Paris, where, in 1832, Humboldt first discovered its real character, and its real author. It had until then been regarded as a Portuguese map of the world of an unknown age. It is a map of the world by Juan de la Cosa, (also called Juan Biscaino,) which he drew in the year 1500, i. e. six years before the death of Columbus. It was a precious discovery to such a man as Humboldt, and he had the most important sections of it engraved on three sheets. It bears the inscription, Juan de la Cosa la fizo en el Puerto de Ste. Maria en año 1500. This inscription stands under a small colored picture, representing the great Christopher wading through the sea, and bearing on his shoulders the infant Christ, carrying a globe in his right hand, a significant allusion to Christopher (Christ bearing) Columbus, and expressive also of the hope of the spread of Christianity which the discovery of this continent (Aug. 1, 1498) excited. Juan de la Cosa, the draughtsman of the map, was the associate of Columbus on his second expedition, which continued from September 25, 1493, to June 11, 1496. He was connected with five expeditions, in two of which he was commander. He must have been a man of great nautical experi-

ence and science, and perhaps of some presumption too, for in the evidence in a trial growing out of the operations of Columbus, it is said by one of the witnesses, that Christopher Columbus, who was usually styled admiral, complained of Juan de la Cosa "for going about and claiming that he knew more than he, the admiral himself."

That section of the map most interesting to us, represents in tolerably exact configuration, but too far north for the greater and less Antilles, the northern coast of South America, also the eastern coast on which the mouths of the Orinoco and Amazon rivers are laid down. A coast line without any name from Cabo de la Vela to the extreme north, connects Venezuela with Labrador. There is nothing on the map to show that he had any idea of the outline of the coast from Puerto de Mosquitos on the western end of the isthmus of Panama to Honduras, a part of the coast first discovered by Columbus on his fourth and last expedition, (from May, 1502 to November, 1504.) He had no conception of the configuration of the Gulf of Mexico, which Cortez first navigated in 1519, though the existence of the coast of Mexico was made known at an earlier period by the natives of Cuba; nor is the coast of the United States of North America distinctly designated, though Sebastian Cabot on his second expedition, sailed along the whole coast from Newfoundland to Florida, in 1498. Northerly in a *mer descubierta per Ingleses*, N. E. of Cuba, the map gives the discoveries of English navigators on a coast that runs from east to west. The coast here represented is probably that extending along the Gulf of St. Lawrence, opposite the present

Island of Anticosta. The isle of Verde, N. E. of Cuba d'Ingleterre is probably Newfoundland. The coast which abruptly turns to the north, extending only to  $70^{\circ}$  latitude, and reaching so far east as to embrace the Islands of Trierland, is most probably the present Iceland.

This map contains no positive allusion to the earlier discovery of the continent of America on the coast of Labrador, by John and Sabastian Cabot, between latitude 56 and 58, on June 24, 1497, thirteen months before the discovery of the continent of South America, at the eastern part of the province of Camana by Columbus. It is very likely that de la Cosa knew it, but why he did not state it, is not known.

This is the proper place to remark that the so styled first discoveries of the continent of North America by the Cabots, and of South America by Columbus, should be designated only as rediscoveries. About 500 years before that period, (A. D. 1000,) Leif, the son of Ereik the Red, the Scandinavian, landed on the continent in Massachusetts, which was a part of Vinland, which name the Scandinavians gave to the coast between Boston and New York. According to the oldest tradition and Icelandic record, even the southern coast between Virginia and Florida, was already described under the name of the White man's Land, or Great Iceland. Intercourse subsisted between Greenland and New Scotland (Maryland) until 1347; between Greenland and Bergen, in Norway, until 1484, that is, until seven years after Columbus had visited Iceland.

All the original maps of Columbus and Vespuccius are lost, so that this one of Juan de la Cosa is to be regarded as the oldest extant. Until it was discovered and published by Humboldt in 1832, two in the military library at Weimar, of the years 1527 and 1529, were considered the most ancient, but they are twenty-one and twenty-three years of more recent date than the death of Columbus in 1506.

The first *engraved* map of portions of the new continent, appears in the Roman edition of Ptolemy of 1508, but it does not contain the name America. This name appears in no edition of Ptolemy before 1522, but it does appear in some other works and maps published ten or twelve years before that period, as shall presently be shown.

Another question of interest in this connexion is, what is the origin of the name *America*, and who gave that name to the continent? This is an interesting enquiry. We all think it should have been called Columbia, but how came it to be baptized America? The solution will show how the single suggestion of one man made even in error, can forever determine the designation of continents.

Columbus died in Valladolid on 20th May, 1506, and one year afterwards there appeared an anonymous work in Latin, entitled *An Introduction to Cosmography*. It was published in the small city of St. Die, in the Vosges mountains of Lorraine, and it contains the proposition to give the name of America to the new world, "in honor of its discoverer, Amerigo Vespucci."

A second edition of this work appeared in 1509, in which the author gives his name as Martinus Ilacomylus. Two other editions appeared in Venice

in 1535 and 1554. Notwithstanding its frequent publication, this book has now become so rare that in 1832 there was but one copy in Paris, and that not even in the Royal library. Who was this *Ilacomylus* who first gave the name America to the new world? For more than 300 years it was uncertain, and according to Navarette, the great geographer, he was regarded as a Hungarian, but Humboldt has irrefutably proved that he was a German, a teacher of geography at the gymnasium in St. Die, and a native of Freiburg in Breisgan. His German name was Martin Waldseemüller (or Waltzemüller.) We are indebted then to a German lecturer on geography in an obscure town in the Vosgian mountains, for this name.

The settlement of this question is important as regards the personal character of Vespucci. Not a few influential historians have charged him with assuming the name himself, and inserting it on maps of the new discovered countries, which he as pilot major had executed in Seville. This name was first proposed in 1507; and he was not appointed pilot major until 1508. Besides, the idea of having discovered a new world, never entered into the mind of Vespucci, nor in that of Columbus. Both died in the full conviction of having discovered parts of Asia, before unknown. Only four years before his death, Columbus writes to Pope Alexander VI: "I have taken possession of 1400 islands, and have discovered 333 leagues of the continent of Asia." Vespucci died February 22, 1512, (not in 1508 as Robertson asserts, and not in 1516 as Bandini and Tiraboschi maintain,) without ever having heard of the honor which the geographers had conferred on

his name. The name did not appear on any maps until eight years after his death. It is remarkable, that Ferdinand Columbus, who as the biographer of his illustrious father, most strenuously vindicates his character and reputation against all attacks, and whose work was finished only in 1533, never expresses himself unfavorably of Vespucci, and does not even mention the name "America," although it was at that time already extensively known. But if this son, so jealous of his father's fame, had at all suspected Vespucci of arrogating claims to distinction to which his own father was entitled, he would have denounced him severely, as he did all others who tried to tarnish the reputation of the great navigator.

Thus the admiration which a German geographer entertained for Amerigo Vespucci, excited by reading his correspondence with Renatus of Lorraine, was really the occasion of giving the name of America to a large portion of the globe.

Now, let us proceed to the illustration of our special theme; the history of Martin Behaim. Germany for ages, has been the birth place of genius. Her history is full of heroic deeds in every department of human effort. It is the land of science, of art, of arms and of song. The pre-eminence of Germany in the highest grades of intellectual exertion, and her amazing progress in every art that can ennoble mankind, have elicited the applause of all who can be charmed by poetry, or instructed by philosophy. Though other lands have produced a more brilliant array of great navigators and discoverers of unknown countries, yet it is not the mere mariner or commander of an expedition, who de-

serves the entire credit of discoveries. It is true, he incurs the risk, he endures the labor, he suffers the exposure and has the honor of first *seeing* the long sought for land, but it is the astronomer on board mapping the heavens, the geographer drawing his charts, the meteorologist observing the temperature, the hydrographer watching the tides, the artizan making and manipulating the nautical instruments, the philosopher studying all the phenomena occurring in nature—it is he who eminently deserves a large share of the honors of discovery, for it is by the aid of his labors that the mariner is led to his brilliant results. Many a splendid geographical discovery has been made at sea, by the help of mathematical and artistic labor executed ashore. It was German astronomers, who by their calculations and tables, enabled the seafaring nations of that day to accomplish many of their brilliant exploits in the field of geographical discovery. Behaim was mariner, astronomer, geographer, artist and philosopher, all combined, and was publicly acknowledged by the Emperor Maximilian, to be the most extensively travelled citizen of the German empire.

His family was of Bohemian origin, which immigrated to Nurnberg on account of religious persecution about A. D. 916. It was afterwards exalted to the rank of the patricians of that famous city, a subordinate degree of nobility in former times highly prized.

Our hero was born in 1459, two or three years later than Columbus. We possess no records of his early life, but his father who was an enterprising and wealthy merchant, had his son educated in the highest schools. The imperial city of Nurnberg



was distinguished for its enterprising, thrifty and pious spirit, and all the sons of those who could afford it, received a scientific education. The merchants of Nurnberg of that day, and even of earlier times, established commercial relations all over Europe, where there was a prospect of gain, and even in the East Indies, a few years after the discovery of the passage by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. The sons of the patricians who were the most distinguished merchants of the city, were obliged to learn the languages of Europe, and to devote themselves strictly to commercial pursuits and studies. After their apprenticeship, they were sent to other countries to serve as clerks or agents of their fathers, and in this capacity Martin Behaim, quite a young man, appears in the Netherlands.

But what is particularly interesting to us is the relation which young Behaim held to Regiomontanus, the greatest mathematician and astronomer of that day. His German name was John Müller, but in conformity to the custom of many of the learned men of that age, he latinized his name from his birth place Königsberg (Regismons.) He was born in 1436, and died in Rome in 1476, in the 40th year of his age; after having run a splendid scientific career in various countries in Europe, he settled as he thought finally in Nurnberg in 1471, for the purpose of prosecuting his philosophical pursuits, but at the end of 1475, Pope Sixtus IV appointed him bishop of Ratisbon, and called him to Rome to improve the calendar. Unwillingly did he obey this call. He went to Rome and died a year afterwards. This was a convenient way of securing the services of a learned man,—conferring

on him the bishopric of a diocese, which he never expected to see, and enjoining duties he never was expected to perform, and for which he had no inclination. But in this way the Pope succeeded in drawing the mathematician to Rome, which any other offer might have failed to do.

His residence in Nurnberg had the most beneficial influence on the scientific improvement of the citizens. It was at that time a sort of central place, brought into close contact with all parts of Europe, by the commercial relations and travels of its merchants, through whom the philosopher held scientific correspondence with the learned of all lands.

His influence on the people was marked and decisive. His studious example and attractive lectures created a zealous interest in the higher mathematical sciences. A wealthy citizen, Bernard Walter, purchased printing materials at his own cost for the purpose of publishing the works of Regiomontanus, and the same liberal patron of science, furnished the means also of procuring mathematical and astronomical instruments for the use of those who cultivated these branches. The philosopher also on his own account, established a manufactory, in which with his own hands, he made a large number of curious and valuable instruments. Some of these are preserved to this day, in the city library of Nurnberg, where so many interesting scientific and artistic relics of the bygone ages are to be seen.

Geography was also the subject of his ardent pursuit. No means were left unemployed to gain a knowledge of all the discoveries, and to publish them to the world. He was in constant correspondence

with many of the philosophers of that day, and especially with Toscanelli, the famous Florentine mathematician, the same man who furnished Columbus with a chart on which was marked the westward course he would have to take towards the East Indies.

The early death of Regiomontanus in 1476, and in the fortieth year of his age, left many of his works unfinished, but during his brief career, he performed an incredible amount of scientific labor. He contributed much to elevate Nurnberg to as high a degree of celebrity in science as it had for many years before enjoyed in commerce. One of his zealous eulogists says of him, "Nurnberg attained to such an exalted distinction in mathematical studies, through the influence of Regiomontanus, that Tarentum could not more justly boast of Archytas, nor Syracuse of Archimedes, nor Byzantium of Proclus, nor Alexandria of Ctesibius, than Nurnberg of Regiomontanus."

During the residence of this distinguished philosopher in Nurnberg, (1471-1475,) our hero, Martin Behaim, was from 12 to 16 years of age, just at that period of life when a tendency to higher studies is developed. He was of a family of the first rank, which always had access to the philosopher's work-rooms and study, and we may well presume that this ardent young man, who a few years later became celebrated as a geographer and astronomer, availed himself of the instructions of Regiomontanus. The Portuguese writers say, that Behaim boasted of having been a pupil of Regiomontanus. Though he was destined to the pursuit of trade by his parents, yet like many a commercial

apprentice since that time, his expanding mind could not be bound down to the ledger, the sales-room or manufactory, but soared aloft to subjects of higher intellectual interest. From the counting-room, he would go to his astronomical studies, impatient for the hour of release from what he called the drudgery of business. The deep hours of the night were spent in severe intellectual toil, whilst most of the other young men of Nurnberg were engaged in frivolous and perhaps vicious amusements. But Behaim's memory lives, and they are forgotten or were never known. He contributed to the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men—they aimed only at the increase of gold, and the preservation of it among themselves. But still, he was compelled to make business his chief employment, and the death of his father in 1474, only imposed heavier responsibilities on him. But it is not likely that he was a very successful merchant, unless he had a more active partner than himself, for a man whose mind is constantly employed about maps, charts, globes, heavenly bodies and mathematical instruments, can hardly be expected to be fit for anything else. He who dwells among the stars, finds it hard to come down among the common places of earth. Astronomy and traffic in the "sugar and cotton line" do not exactly suit together. Yet from 1475 to 1479, we find Behaim in Mechlin, Antwerp and Frankfort, apparently engaged in mercantile transactions, and all the while exhibiting the most affectionate interest for his mother, as his published correspondence shows. Still it is very probable that science occupied as much or more of his attention than commerce. He every where sought the society

of learned astronomers, and we can easily conceive how a man of his tastes and inclinations would spend his time in the intervals of business, or even during some of the hours which other more systematic men would devote to it. All studious men know how easy it is to find excuses to prosecute a favorite branch, even amid the calls of pressing professional engagements. Thus it was with Behaim; business was often compelled to yield to science. Though his pecuniary interests may have suffered, yet his reputation was advancing every day. The merchant astronomer who may not have been successful on change at Antwerp or Frankfort, was in intimate intercourse with another, and a very different class of men from that which congregates in the busy mart. Let it be remembered that at this time he was not over nineteen years of age, and yet his fame had gone beyond the boundaries of his native land, and the government of Portugal, at that period, extensively engaged in maritime pursuits, perhaps more than any other, employed Behaim in her marine service. We now lose sight of him in Germany for eleven years, (1479–1491.) He did not visit his native city until 1491, when he returned for a short period, laden with honors and enjoying a world wide reputation as cosmographer and navigator. The young merchant becomes an adventurous sailor and explorer, and makes invaluable contributions to geographical knowledge.

He was not over twenty years of age (1480) when we find him a member of a committee appointed by King John of Portugal, for the promotion of nautical science. This circumstance alone stamps the scientific character of the man. One so young, and

a foreigner too, would not have been elevated to such a position, if he had not already made extraordinary progress in mathematical knowledge. The pursuits of commerce brought him to Lisbon, for the merchants of Nurnberg held relations with most of the cities of southern Europe. But there is reason to believe that the interests of science too, had no small influence in determining his visit to the south. At that early day, the Germans seemed to have been the most favored of all foreigners in Portugal. Jerome Munzer, a great German traveller of those days (1494-95) informs us that he was honored by invitations to the table of King John four times. He remarks that on his travels through the peninsula, he encountered many German settlers as clergymen, merchants, artists, printers and artillerymen. Even in Granada, which had been rescued from the Moors only three years before, and as yet inhabited by them, he found German printers. King Alphonsus who reigned from 1448-81, had Germans, particularly as artillerymen, in his service on his marine expeditions, and elevated one of them to the command of all the Portuguese rifle corps. As German powder was much sought after, and Alphonsus admitted all warlike instruments and materials into his country free of duty, the Nurnbergers naturally took advantage of this favorable permit. Even as early as 1428, a German (Lambert von Horgon) immigrated into Portugal with his family, and received from King John a section of land as a present, on condition of inducing German colonists to come and cultivate it. The Germans in Lisbon who were in the service of the government as marines or soldiers, enjoyed special privileges, and

established a hospital in Lisbon for themselves. The German Hanseatic cities were not inactive in regard to Portuguese voyages of discovery; they supplied ships and provisions, and it is likely, loaned money as well as furnished marines; the first printers in Portugal were Germans. One of them, Valentine Ferdinand, was in 1503 appointed shield-bearer to Queen Leonora, wife of John II. It was he who translated the travels of Marco Polo into Portuguese. King Manuel valued the art of printing so highly that he invited the German printer, Jacob Cromberger, to Portugal, elevated him to the rank of the nobility, and issued a decree granting to all who pursued the "blessed art" in Portugal, equal rights with the nobility of the royal house. Not only were the men of Germany in great demand in Portugal and other southern countries, but her manufactures also. Nurnberg, though lying far in the interior, was particularly famous among the Portuguese for the cultivation of those sciences and the manufacture of those instruments which related to navigation. Compasses were, at that time, almost exclusively manufactured at Nurnberg; the compass makers were so numerous that in 1510, they united themselves into a special guild. The celebrated ephemerides of Regiomontanus first appeared in Nurnberg in 1473, and these were much sought after by navigators. Thus Germany was enterprizing in those days. German emigrants were found every where in southern Europe, and we have some conception of what German emigration is since the discovery of this country.

The duties of the committee appointed by King John, and of which young Behaim was a member,

were to simplify nautical instruments, to discover new ones, and to diffuse mathematical and astronomical knowledge among the Portuguese. It was composed of the most distinguished mathematicians of the country, and consisted of five members, Jose and Rodrigo, physicians to the King, Martin Behaim, the bishop Ceuta, Diogo Ortiz and the bishop of Viseu Calçadilha. Humboldt says, that these two last are but one person, with the two different names. One of them, Jose, was an Israelite.

The King was particularly desirous that the committee should discover a method by which navigators who had lost sight of the coast, might find their way, for though the compass gave them the direction in which they should steer, yet they were uncertain of their latitude. He directed Behaim particularly, in consultation with the two physicians, to discover some means whereby mariners could determine their exact position at sea. They discovered the art of sailing by the sun's height—they calculated declination tables for the sun, and applied the astrolabe to the purposes of navigation. A similar instrument was known to the Portuguese before Behaim's time, but it had been used only by astronomers. As early as the close of the thirteenth century, there was an instrument used on the Castilian ships by which the hour of the night could be determined at sea by the stars, but at the same time, the Portuguese do not appear to have used the astrolabe at sea, until this committee proposed by it to measure the height of the sun. The chief improvement, made by Behaim in the instrument, was the substitution of brass for the coarse material of wood, and instead of having it placed on a tripod



and thus be subject to the ship's motion, he attached it to the mast, and by a proper arrangement made it maintain a vertical position.

The Portuguese writers give Behaim the credit of having contributed most towards the improvement and application of the astrolabe. He had been educated in the city from which the Pope had called Regiomontanus to Rome for the purpose of improving the Calendar—he had even been a pupil of the great philosopher himself. It was this, that procured him a place in the committee and gave him special influence. He had seen these instruments in the workshop of his teacher, which he recommended to the Portuguese, and was therefore well qualified, young as he was, to discharge the duties of his office. Columbus, Vasco de Gama, Cabot, Magellan and others used these instruments, and it was in this way the Germans exerted no small influence on the voyages of discovery of those days. If many of them did not personally share in the dangers and privations of these adventures, yet it was John Regiomontanus and other Germans who through their nautical instruments and astronomical tables, enabled maritime nations to trust themselves securely to unknown seas.

We now follow Behaim on his first voyage as a navigator. Soon after discovering the application of the astrolabe to the measurement of distance by the sun's height, he had an opportunity of practically applying it. He was appointed by King John, astronomer and cosmographer to the expedition fitted out to prosecute further discoveries on the African coast, under the command of Diogo Cão. The farther these voyages extended, the more cus-

tomary it became to send out a practical astronomer who understood the use of the astrolabe, the quadrant and the tables calculated by Regiomontanus. Occasionally the command of a ship was entrusted to the astronomer, as appears to have been the case with Behaim, and most certainly was with Americo Vespucci. On the globe which Behaim afterwards constructed, he gave short memoranda of the results of the expedition at various places. This expedition sailed in 1484, and was absent nineteen months. The most southern point it attained was Table Bay, where they erected a stone column with the arms of Portugal inscribed upon it. The discoveries made during this voyage were the Prince's Islands, and St. Thomas near the equator, and this was accomplished by the aid of Behaim's astrolabe, which emboldened navigators to sail out of sight of land. Before that, islands which lay far from the coast, were discovered only by accident, when ships were driven towards them by storms.

After his return from this voyage, the success of which owed so much to his astronomical science, Behaim was elevated to the knighthood of the order of Christ by John II. The King himself girded him with the sword, and the crown Prince, afterwards King Manuel, buckled on his right spur. The ceremony took place in the presence of the Queen and the whole court.

Here is the proper place to notice a fact which has operated unfavorably on the character of Behaim and has raised up against him a host of enemies, although he is perfectly innocent and has been drawn into the difficulty by injudicious admirers. It is, that he came to America before Columbus, and

hence should be regarded as the real discoverer of this continent. This unfounded claim was first set up by John Christopher Wagenseil, professor of history in the Nurnberg University of Altdorf, who flourished between 1665–1705. This man who was an extensive traveller—a profound jurist, historian and oriental linguist, enjoying a world wide reputation and receiving from crowned heads distinguished marks of favor and honor, abused his exalted position in the learned world, to confer a distinction on the Behaim family to which they made no claim whatever, and in the ground of which probably Wagenseil himself had no confidence. In a latin eulogy which he delivered in 1682, in honor of a relative of our Behaim who had rendered valuable services to the University of Altdorf, the orator in the language of fulsome flattery and unmeasured adulation so common in that day, laments grievously that the name of Behaim as the discoverer of America had not been properly recognized and honored until then, and appeals as proofs that Behaim had gone to America before Columbus, to two Nurnberger documents preserved in the archives of the city, which however say nothing at all of that which Wagenseil wished to show. His other citations merely mention Behaim as a great astronomer and navigator without specifying any of his discoveries. One of his quotations expresses the conjecture that Behaim might have suggested the idea of a western continent to Columbus, but the inference is too bold, that therefore Behaim was the discoverer of America. Wagenseil repeats the assumption in his *Historia Universalis*, which had an extensive circulation in Germany, and this idea

having been copied into other works, became almost universally prevalent in Germany during the last century. More recent investigations and references to Portuguese and Spanish documents have reinstated Columbus into his rights, and as formerly Behaim's merits were exalted above measure, men now felt inclined to depreciate him accordingly. If we dare not claim honors for him which he did not deserve, we will not allow him to be deprived of those which are due him. Several of his countrymen in the United States have maintained the same unfounded position. Mr. Otto, a German gentleman of New York in 1786, addressed to Dr. Franklin and published in the transactions of the American Philosophical Society (1786, II. No. 35) a memoir on the discovery of America, in which he maintains the priority of discovery for Behaim. More recently, a writer named Löher, in a history of the Germans in America, published in Cincinnati in 1847, takes the same untenable ground; whilst of course, we cannot sustain these writers, yet we cannot allow Behaim to be robbed of this merit, that his science contributed essentially to the discovery of America, and this naturally leads us to speak of his relation to Columbus, and the great event which distinguished the life of the latter.

The Spanish historian Herrera affirms (dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 2,) that Columbus was established in the grounds which determined him to seek a marine way to East India by sailing west, by his friend the Portuguese Martin de Bohemia of the Island of Fayal, who was a learned cosmographer. The Dutch compiler and publisher of a large collection of voyages and travels, Peter Van der Aa improves

somewhat on Herrera and makes Behaim a native of Fayal and a Portuguese. Robertson, in his *History of America*, follows Van der Aa, and if the City of Nurnberg did not possess his globe and other documents establishing his birth place, Martin Behaim would probably flourish in history as a Portuguese, or at least as a Bohemian immigrant to Portugal.

Let us investigate the correctness of this very credible observation of the Spanish historian, that Columbus was confirmed in his views and conjectures by Behaim.

Columbus began his nautical life in his 18th year, and about the year 1470 went to Portugal in pursuit of employment. Humboldt assumes that it was 1477. The enterprises of the Portuguese at that time attracted many sea-faring men to their country, particularly from Italy, and they were very cheerfully received. In Portugal, he married Felipa, the daughter of Bartolomeo Monnio de Palestrello. This Palestrello was an Italian mariner, who, in the service of Portugal, conducted a colony to Porto Santo, one of the Canaries, and was appointed by Prince Henry, governor of this island. He was already dead when Columbus married the daughter, who lived with her mother in straightened circumstances, in Lisbon. The widow, whom Columbus took into his own family, gave him all the charts and journals of her deceased husband. By the study of these charts, most probably not before 1477, he conceived the plan of finding the way to the East Indies by going westward. In this year he sought the advice of Toscanelli, the celebrated astronomer of Florence, to whom is ascribed the

credit of first conceiving the idea of sailing westward to the East Indies. His correspondence with Columbus on this subject, is exceedingly interesting. The latter made occasional voyages in Portuguese ships to Guinea, and when he was at home he obtained a meagre support for his family by drawing charts, in which he also instructed his brother Bartolomeo. His wife's sister was married to Pedro Correa, who was governor of the island of Porto Santo. Columbus, for a season, resided on this island, where his son Diego was born, but he soon returned to Portugal. Probably, in 1480, he made a voyage to Iceland.

After the committee, of which we have spoken above, had furnished to navigators an improved astrolabe, Columbus conceived himself sufficiently armed to venture out into the unknown sea, and soon after this discovery he made propositions to the Court of Portugal, but he met with no favor. When his wife died, he left Portugal, towards the end of 1484, much disheartened and in straightened financial circumstances. It is uncertain whether he went to Genoa or where he spent the year 1485; in 1486 he was in Spain, extremely destitute, where he supported himself poorly by drawing maps. His attempts to secure confidence in his enterprize, at the Court of Spain, were fruitless, and in 1491 he received a final and peremptory refusal. In the same year he was invited by King John II, of Portugal, to return to Lisbon, but held back by a tender relation to Donna Beatrice Henriquenz, in Cordova, he made a last attempt at the Court of Spain, in which he was supported by a friend. He at last succeeded in effecting a contract, which was signed April 18th,

1492. On August 3d, 1492, he enters on his first voyage.

If we compare this brief sketch of the circumstances of Columbus in Portugal, with the history of Behaim, we shall discover, in several respects, a peculiar affinity between the destinies of both men. Both came to Portugal from foreign countries—both were engaged in drawing maps and charts, which of course required a constant examination of all new discoveries, and frequent intercourse with mariners. We are not sure whether Behaim pursued this occupation as a means of livelihood; he was not poor as Columbus was, but his favorite pursuits naturally led him to employ much of his time in this occupation. Columbus married the daughter of a foreigner, who was governor of the island of Porto Santo—he himself resided in this island, which lies far in the Western Ocean, in  $2^{\circ}$  east longitude. Behaim also married the daughter of a foreigner, the governor of the island of Fayal, which is  $13^{\circ}$  longitude nearer America than Porto Santo. He also lived by turns on this island and in Lisbon.

Behaim came to Lisbon in 1479 or 1480, where Columbus had already lived since 1470 or 1474. Columbus left Lisbon towards the end of 1484. It would have been strange if these two men, engaged in the same pursuits in the same city, had not become intimately acquainted with each other. We should rather suspect that Columbus would seek the society of Behaim, who had brought with him the reputation of having been a pupil of the great Regiomontanus, and as we have already observed, who was a member of the royal commission for the promotion of nautical affairs. It was Behaim, who, by

his improvement of the astrolabe to such an extent as to amount to a discovery, furnished mariners with the means of finding their way on the open sea, and thus of putting Columbus into a position of venturing out on the trackless deep. It was only after the discovery of this instrument that Columbus made the proposition first to the Portuguese government for the prosecution of his cherished enterprize, for now the beginning of such a project must have appeared less adventurous and the success of it more certain. We have before seen that the nautical commission or junta de mathematicos, which King John appointed, consisted of Jose, Rodrigo, Behaim, Bishop Diogo Ortiz and Bishop Calçadilha. They began their labors in 1481. Two of them, Jose and Rodrigo, the physicians, with Behaim, were entrusted with the duty of discovering a method of sailing according to the sun's elevation, and the result was the improved astrolabe. Between 1481 and 1483 Columbus introduced his project to the notice of King John. The King referred it to the mathematical junta for examination. Bishop Ortiz appointed a sub-committee, of which he was chairman, to report on it. The other two members were the physicians. After investigation, they agreed in emphatically pronouncing the enterprize of Columbus as a *negocio fabuloso*.

We may ask, why was not Behaim placed on this sub-committee? He was at that time in Lisbon, and had not yet entered on his voyage with Diogo Cão. He was acknowledged to be a learned cosmograph, and had already rendered invaluable services as one of the commission. The globe of Behaim answers the question. According to the distances marked



on this globe, Behaim must have entirely sanctioned the plan of Columbus, for his island of Fayal lies pretty nearly in the middle between Portugal and the Asiatic Islands. Doubtless it was well known that he favored the proposition—he was regarded as committed, and hence could not be an impartial judge.

The idea of a western passage to India did not originate with Columbus, as we have already observed. It was common among the geographers and mathematicians of that day, who, like Toscanelli, Behaim, Columbus, Vespucci, and all others of any pretensions to science, were convinced of the spherical figure of the earth, but who, at the same time, entertained the erroneous idea that Asia extended much farther eastward towards Europe than it really does. Alphonsus V, the predecessor of King John, had made enquiries of Toscanelli respecting the western route, before Columbus had laid his plans before the Portuguese government. The idea, hence, was not new. There was only wanting a man who was bold enough to venture on the prosecution of it, and that man was Columbus. From authentic accounts, it appears certain that he had some distinguished patrons in Lisbon. Even King John did not allow himself to be deterred by the unfavorable report of the committee. Columbus represented the matter to him personally. The King was inclined to engage in the enterprize, but the injudicious and extravagant demand of an hereditary vice-royalty in the new discovered countries which Columbus made, determined the King to withdraw his favor. There is no doubt that Columbus would have gained his point much sooner if he had not

pursued his private interest to such an unbounded extent. He wanted to be hereditary Vice-King of the countries he would discover, Grand Admiral in those seas, and to receive other extraordinary perquisites. His demands were sufficient to awaken the suspicion and excite the jealousy of any Prince, and this was the cause of his failure. Ferdinand, of Spain, afterwards eagerly took advantage of the occasion of some complaints of the colony of Hispaniola against Columbus, to retrench his extraordinary privileges, which he never again recovered.

An improper advantage was attempted to be taken of Columbus, and the dishonest proposition came from the Bishop of Ceuta. He suggested a plan by which, on the one hand, the desire of the King might be gratified, and on the other, the extravagant demands of Columbus might be evaded.

The plan was to make an attempt to discover this western course without the aid of Columbus, under the pretence of sending provisions to the Cape de Verd Islands. A fleet was fitted out with orders to sail westward, in the course laid down by Columbus, and to ascertain if there were any signs of land. This fleet, which was manned by persons totally unqualified for the enterprize, sailed a few degrees beyond the Cape de Verd Islands, and returned with the report that they saw nothing but a boundless waste of water, and that the proposition of Columbus was ridiculous. Columbus, without any prospect of carrying his plans into execution, in Portugal, and offended by the mean attempt of cheating him out of his anticipated prize by the secret expedition just alluded to, left Portugal in disgust, and without the knowledge of his friends,

towards the end of the year 1484, during the time that Behaim was absent with Diogo Cão, on his voyage to the coast of Africa.

Columbus and Behaim continued their correspondence after the former left Portugal. Herrera reports that Columbus called Behaim "his friend," and refers to him in his application for patronage to the Spanish Court. Columbus, himself, was not lost sight of by the Court of Portugal; as has been observed, he was invited to return to Lisbon by King John, in 1491. He refers to "his friend" of the island of *Fayal*, and this leads us to presume that an amicable relation, and most probably a correspondence, was sustained between them for years after. The residence of Behaim on Fayal, which is by one-half nearer to the presumed coast of Asia, must have given a peculiar weight to his testimony of the possibility of reaching the coast of Asia and the East Indies by this western route. When Columbus was yet in Lisbon, Behaim, as it appears, was not yet married; he married only after his return from the voyage with Diogo Cão in 1486; we can scarcely presume that he had been on the island of Fayal before his marriage, and before the departure of Columbus from Portugal. When, then, he refers to Behaim as his "friend in Fayal," he must have been on intimate terms with him during the time that Behaim lived on the island. His residence on this island was of essential service to Columbus, for he was there placed in a position to discover various traces of the existence of a country towards the west. From time to time large masses of pine timber were deposited on the beach of Fayal by currents from the west, and on the

shores of the neighboring island of Flores, were found corpses of an unknown race of men, and these circumstances were regarded as proofs of the existence of a country to the west.

Even if we are far from ascribing to Behaim the merit of discovering America, which is founded only on the untenable presumption that, in his voyage to Southern Africa, he was driven to the coast of Brazil, as Cabral was subsequently, or that he was once drifted to the coast of North America from Fayal, of which, however, he says nothing on his globe—if we ascribe to him no undeserved merit, yet we maintain that he contributed essentially to the execution of Columbus' plans by his astrolabe, which enabled navigators to direct their course in the open sea, as well as by the opinion, though erroneous, but which he shared with Columbus, of the proximity of the coast of Asia, to which his reputation as a learned cosmograph, living so far on the Western Ocean, gave peculiar weight.

If we examine the globe of Behaim, which he constructed in 1492, the same year that Columbus sailed on his first voyage of discovery, and observe the short distance which he makes between Fayal and the Antilles, and thence to the islands of the Asiatic coast, we cannot for a moment doubt that Behaim would have had no hesitation in undertaking such a western voyage. He might, indeed, have thought it more rational to follow the more certain way to East India round Africa, which he himself accomplished as far as the  $22^{\circ}$  of south latitude, and which he distinctly marks on his globe, although Vasco de Gama first completely sailed over this course.

In considering this subject, we must never lose sight of the fact, that it was not the idea of discovering a new *continent* which determined Columbus to steer westward, but the object was to *discover a marine passage to the East Indies*. Columbus had no presentiment of a new continent; he merely presumed, that on this western way he would discover many new islands and the eastern coast of Asia, and of these new possessions, which he expected to discover for the crown of Spain, he claimed the rights and immunities of a Vice-King before he sailed.

The new continent of America was discovered by pure accident. Columbus, Vespucci, and generally all the navigators of that day, had no other idea than that it was the eastern coast of Asia which they had discovered. Both these men died in that conviction. They, as well as the Portuguese and Spaniards generally, were not satisfied with the discovery of these countries, so long as the anticipated way to the East Indies was not found in that direction. Even all subsequent voyages, also the last of Columbus and Vespucci, had no other design in view than to discover a passage to the East Indies, through or over those large Asiatic Islands, as they thought, or at least preliminarily to reach the Spice Islands of Molucca. The opinion, that America was a part of Asia, was entertained by the geographers during the whole of the sixteenth century. At first the newly discovered coast of the American continent was regarded as a part of Asia, stretching far to the east. Subsequently, North and South America appear on the maps as two divided islands at a moderate distance from the continent of East-

ern Asia. South America is the proper New World, and bears the name America. North America continues to be small, and is frequently associated with Cuba under the same name. Still later, when the discovery was made that there was no passage through the Isthmus of Panama, and Magellan had sailed out into the Pacific Ocean, America again becomes a part of the continent of Asia, extending eastwardly far out into the sea. It would be interesting, if we had time, to follow the various changes on the most ancient maps.

On his second voyage, in 1494, Columbus made his crew swear, as he himself believed, that the coast of Cuba was the extreme end of the continent of Asia, a part of the province of Mango, of the southern section of Cathai, (China,) and that it might be reached by land from Spain. Towards the end of 1500, he writes to Donna Juana de la Torre, governess of the infant Don Juan, "if the new countries discovered by me are not so highly appreciated as the *other* parts of *India*, it is owing to personal hostility; from these lands commerce will be extended to Arabia Felix and to Mecca." In a letter, which he wrote in July, 1504, on his fourth and last voyage, he thus expresses himself: "On the 13th of May, I arrived in the province of Mango, which borders on the coast of China. From Ciguara, in the land of Veragua, there are but ten days travel to the river Ganges." In a letter to Pope Alexander, in 1502, he says: "I have discovered 1500 islands and 333 miles of the continent of Asia." He promises the Pope, from the profits of his discoveries, to support for seven years 50,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry for the conquest

of the Holy Sepulchre; and declares that it was Satan alone who prevented him thus far, as he had fondly hoped, to gather annually a ton of gold." Vespucci also, in a letter to Pier Francisco de Medicis, says, "that his discoveries related to the boundless country of Asia." Vespucci had as little conception of a new continent as Columbus. Whatever geographical errors these men may have entertained, it is certain that Martin Behaim aided them essentially in their discoveries.

Whether Behaim was intimately acquainted with Vespucci, cannot be determined from Spanish or Portuguese documents. It is a remarkable fact, that Vespucci's name is no where mentioned in Portuguese archives. But still we should not wonder at this apparent oversight, when we know that many persons of distinction and many important events have been passed over in silence by the authors of those days. Facts crowded upon them too thickly to record every thing. In general, they were satisfied with mentioning only the commanders of an expedition. The subordinate officers and the astronomers are frequently unnoticed. The latter, on the other hand, who not improperly regarded themselves as the principal characters of the expedition, as they directed the course of the ship in these voyages of discovery, very seldom in their reports mention the names of the commanders. Thus, for instance, Behaim, when he speaks of his voyage four distinct times on his globe, in no place mentions Diogo Cão. Vespucci himself, who accompanied these expeditions only as astronomer and cosmograph, makes no secret of the fact, that he had a superior officer over him, but he speaks

with little respect of the scientific attainments of these officers, and never mentions their names in his reports. Besides, many important reports of those days may have been lost: in others, frequently momentous circumstances are omitted. Thus, for example, the celebrated Spanish historian of the West Indies, Herrera, who mentions Behaim, knows nothing of the Italian *savant* Toscanelli who corresponded with Columbus, and to whom the latter is probably indebted for his idea of finding a westward way to the East India. Thus also the cotemporary Spanish writer, Oviedo, does not even once allude to Vespucci, who was at the same time held in such high respect by the Spanish Court. The name of Christoval Jaquez, a great navigator of those days, does not occur, where we would most certainly expect to find it, in the Records of Domiano de Goes, nor in the general catalogue of Portuguese voyages by Faria y Sousa. In the letters of Vespucci the name of Columbus occurs but once, and then he is mentioned as the discoverer of the island Antillia. Thus, until the more recent investigations of Munioz, it was not known where Vespucci died; and if we wonder that the name of Behaim is not found in the present Portuguese archives, and from this fact conclude that he was not highly esteemed in that country, we must also wonder that the name of Vespucci is not found in the same archives, and yet we know that he was four years in the service of Portugal, performed two voyages to America at the expense of the king, and was in other respects honored by the government.

There can be no doubt that Behaim, who spent his time between Fayal and Lisbon, became ac-



quainted with Vespucci, and that these two men of similar tastes and pursuits should have frequently consulted about the most probable method of finding a western way to the East. It is certain that Vespucci used the improved astrolabe of Behaim, as well as Columbus. In a letter in which he speaks of his first voyage in the service of Portugal, he complains of the ignorance of the mariners, and says that the expedition would have lost its way entirely after a storm, if he had not set them right by the use of the astrolabe and quadrant.

Behaim's connexion with the discovery of the Straits of Magellan, which Wagenseil ascribes to him, is very remarkable. Magellan, embittered by the ingratitude of the King of Portugal, whom he had faithfully served five years, attached himself to the service of Spain in 1517. He exhibited to the bishop of Burgos, a beautiful painted globe on which was described the course he intended to take in finding the way to the East. The Straits, however, through which he intended to pass, he purposely left white on his globe, so that no person might discover his secret. When pressed by the ministers, he declared his purpose to be to sail southward from the mouth of Rio de Solis (now Rio de la Plata) until he came to the Straits. He was certain of finding it, for he had *seen it marked on a chart of Martin Behaim, a celebrated Portuguese geographer*, and that this chart threw much light on the subject.

Pigofetta, who accompanied Magellan on this expedition and kept an extensive journal, and one of the few who returned in good health, says: "On the 21st of October, 1520, we discovered a Strait, to

which we gave the name of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, to whom that day was consecrated. This Strait is one-hundred and ten miles long and a half mile wide. It extends into another sea, to which we gave the name of Pacific. High, snow covered mountains surround it; it is also very deep, so that we could not cast anchor excepting very near the shore, and then only in twenty-five or thirty fathoms. Without the superior knowledge of our commander we never would have found the outlet of this Strait, for we all thought it was closed at the other end, but our commander who was as skillful as he was adventurous, knew that he had to steer through a remarkably narrow and unknown passage which he had seen designated *on a chart prepared by the celebrated cosmographer, Martin Behaim.*" Supported by this testimony, the distinguished author, William Postellus, (born in 1510 in Normandy,) called this Strait *Fretum Martini Bohemi.*

How are we to account for the fact that Behaim mentions this narrow passage between the two seas, and yet we have no account of his having been there? But what he did from 1494 to 1506, when he died in Lisbon, (that is, twelve years,) is wholly unknown to us. It is not impossible that he may have seen the Straits and designated them on his chart from actual observation, though we have no account of it. The last letter from him extant is of the date of 1494, and his absence on distant expeditions may account for this interruption in his correspondence. This is a very probable surmise. On the island of Fayal, he was one third nearer America than the Portuguese—the Azores were a usual landing place for ships on their way to

America ; Columbus himself on the return from his first voyage (February 13, 1493) landed on the island of St. Maria ; the inhabitants of the Azores were enterprizing seamen who carried their commerce even to Ireland. Behaim was in 1494, in which his last letter is dated, but thirty-five years of age, a man in the vigor of life. Under such circumstances, we feel almost compelled to assume, that a man so ardently devoted to marine affairs and geography, and who was so much nearer to America than the inhabitants of Europe, could not resist the impulse of making a voyage to the new and much talked of country. It was precisely at the time that Behaim had returned to Portugal and to Fayal from his visit to Nurnberg, that the Portuguese were most actively engaged in finding a southern passage to India on the eastern coast of South America ; is it at all improbable that Behaim accompanied some of these expeditions and actually accomplished the passage through the Strait himself !

We are not to assume that no other expeditions sailed towards America than those of which Spanish and Portuguese writers make mention, and hence that Behaim never visited the Strait, because no writer gives us any account of it. Even some of the government expeditions are not noticed by authors ; but besides these, there were not a few secret adventures on private account, which of course are not recorded, but by means of these, intercourse between the two hemispheres was comparatively frequent.

Even if we cannot positively assume that Behaim himself ever saw the Strait, yet the designation of it on his map can be naturally accounted for on the

ground that he *presumed* there must be a passage and he marked it down before it was really discovered. Even if he never had been in Brazil, yet the different expeditions to the Brazilian coast, and particularly those of Vespucci, taught him that the newly discovered country of  $10^{\circ}$  south latitude extended towards south-west, and that the presumed and long sought for passage must eventually be found further towards the south. He marked it on his map agreeably to the custom of the geographers of that day, who not only introduced what was demonstrated to be geographical truth, but also their own probable conjectures and assumptions. He had the analogy of Africa before him, which extends far towards south-east, but which finally terminates in a point which can be sailed around. Behaim had also marked on his globe the eastern coast of Africa and the whole passage to India, although this prescribed way was actually sailed over for the first time six years later by Vasco de Gama.

But what shall we say to this remarkable fact, that a geographer in the centre of Germany, far removed from all connexion with the navigators of the west, not only designated with tolerable exactness the figure of South America, but even the Straits subsequently named after Magellan, before Magellan discovered them? This was actually done by John Schöner in 1520, a celebrated geographer of Nurnberg, whose charts and globes, as well as those of Apianus of the same period, separate North and South America from Asia and Japan by a sea, whilst other maps of that day regard America as a part of Asia or in close con-

nexion with it. This globe is still preserved in the city library of Nurnberg. Magellan discovered the Strait on October 21, 1520; in the same year, Schöner finished his globe in Bamberg; he could not have heard of this discovery in time to have marked it on his globe which was finished the same year that the discovery was made, but besides this, we knew that he had designated the Strait on another globe five years before! The question is, whence did he derive his information of a southern, but yet nameless passage into the Pacific Ocean, but from Behaim? Schöner had studied in Nurnberg, where he became well acquainted with the correspondents and relatives of Behaim, and most probably corresponded with him himself, and thus gained his information. In the preparation of his globe, he would naturally consult the great astronomers and geographers of the day, and standing in close connexion with those of his own country, and hearing all about Behaim's discoveries and well founded assumptions, he adopted them and transferred them to his globe; and yet strange to say, this same man who in 1520 had tolerably correct geographical ideas, thirteen years later (1533) abandoned the opinion that America was a distinct country, and wrote a quarto to prove that the American islands constituted a part of Asia. He says, that later investigations establish this fact!

Whatever we may think of the relation of Behaim to the discovery of the Straits of Magellan, it cannot appear unreasonable that Postell should have given it the name of *Fretum Martini Bohemi*. Magellan according to indisputable documents, had repeatedly acknowledged that he had found this Strait desig-

nated on a chart of Behaim, and that this chart awakened in him the idea of sailing through this passage to the Moluccas. The honor of having really found the way to the Spice Islands through the Strait, belongs to Magellan, but it should have retained the name of him to whom the adventurous navigator himself confesses that he owed the knowledge of the passage.

We shall now speak more particularly of Behaim's globe, to which allusion has several times been made.

It has been stated that his principal residence was the island of Fayal, where he was engaged in the service of Portugal. It appears that his correspondence with his relations in Nurnberg was not very active. He had been absent too long to be on very intimate terms with the family at home.

In 1491 he visited them in Nurnberg. His brother, Wolf, who resided in Lyons, wrote to his cousin in Nurnberg thus: "I am sorry to hear that my brother Martin is still with you, leading such a singular life. I wish we were entirely rid of him." It is likely that the free and easy manners of a southern sailor, did not exactly suit the sober industry and rigid morals of the staid old Nurnbergers. They expected that the knighted Martin should devote himself from morning to evening to the duties of the counting room, or to some other utilitarian pursuit, with the same activity that characterized the sons of the Nurnberger merchants. Instead of this, he did nothing but spend his time in an amateur cultivation of a small garden. This brought in no money, and his economical neighbors regarded it as an unprofitable waste of time. His brother

Wolf, who must have been a great utilitarian, thought he might open a trade in vegetables! His mode of life gave great offence, and more particularly when they discovered that his rank as a knight would not allow him, according to the Portuguese notions of propriety, to engage in commerce of any kind.

Behaim had become a sailor, and as was the case with all Portuguese seamen of that day, he was always ready to peril his life at sea or in battle against the Moors by land, but little inclined to a regular, continuous business requiring sedentary, quiet labor. The manners of the Portuguese at that time differed so much from those of the Germans, that a Portuguese who remained in Germany, every where gave offence. Even their costume was too gay and frivolous for the sober and plain dressed Nurnbergers. When Behaim's son visited his father's relatives in Nurnberg in 1520, he was compelled to lay aside his Portuguese dress, and to buy a plain black German suit. From all this, it is evident that Martin Behaim was no very welcome guest to the friends of his family in Nurnberg.

The principal design of his visit to that city, may have been to settle affairs relative to his inheritance, for his mother had died in 1487. It is certain that he returned to Portugal much richer than when he left it. He remained in Nurnberg two years.

It was not, however, horticultural recreations alone that occupied his time during these two years. Together with the prosecution of his favorite studies, he constructed the celebrated globe which is to this day preserved in the family of Behaim. An inscription on it, asserts that he made it in 1492

at the request of three persons, the principal citizens, and leaves it in the city as a memento of his sojourn. It is crowded with notices of the various islands and regions, some of which are curious enough.

The diameter of the globe is two feet. The material of which it is constructed is pasteboard, covering a wooden frame. This pasteboard is coated with gypsum, and over this again is stretched parchment on which the drawings are made. An iron axis goes through the centre. The sea is painted in ultra marine, the land is brown and green; the tops of the snow mountains are white. The inscriptions and names are of different colors, in gold, silver, white and yellow. The meridian is iron; the horizon is brass, and the whole is supported on an iron tripod. As may be expected, time has wrought some changes in its appearance; the ultra marine has become black, and the other colors have become pale. It is now preserved with great care by the family, and in 1847 a perfect facsimile of it was made for the Academy of Paris, and a copy was also left with the family. There is no notice of America on this globe.

Behaim returned to Portugal as we have seen in 1493. Soon after his arrival, he was sent by King John on a secret embassy to the Netherlands, with which the Emperor Maximilian was in some way connected. The fact is, it concerned the emperor's own son Philip, who was about to ascend the throne of the lower countries. The reason why Behaim was sent, and not a native Portuguese, was doubtless from consideration to the emperor himself. Behaim was not unknown to him, and he had



openly declared Behaim to be the most extensively travelled citizen of the German empire. But in relation to Philip also, a native of the Netherlands, the selection was appropriate, for Behaim had lived in that country, had married there, and understood the language as well as the German.

He could not at first successfully execute his mission. On the voyage from Lisbon to the Netherlands, the ship was captured by an English corsair, and he was conveyed to England as a prisoner. The complaint against the piracy of the English at that time was universal. Even English nobles were engaged in the nefarious business. In 1470, an English corsair named Falconbridge, a nephew of the Earl of Warwick, who at that time governed England, captured twelve Portuguese merchant ships in the channel, and plundered them. The Portuguese received permission from their King Alphonsus to make reprisals by which the English marine interests suffered to such an extent, that King Edward sent commissioners to Portugal to negotiate for a cessation of the practice.

Behaim was detained in England with his attendants, three months. He was several times so reduced by fever, that he conceived himself on the point of death. After his recovery, he escaped from captivity by the help of a pirate, who conveyed him by night over the channel to the coast of France. Thence he went to the Netherlands in execution of his commission. It is not known what the precise object of it was, but soon after the arrival of Maximilian in the Netherlands, Behaim suddenly left with a despatch to his sovereign. He wrote to his friends in Nurnberg, (March 37, 1494,) that he in-

tended to remain in Portugal until Whitsuntide, and then return to Fayal. This is the last letter from him that is extant. Of his destiny from 1494 to 1506, we know nothing. That he stood in the highest esteem in Lisbon, is evident from the fact that the Cavalier Diego Gomez, dedicated to him a report on the discovery of America, besides the confidence reposed in him by King John. With the death of King John, the affairs of Behaim took an unfavorable turn. The King died October 25, 1495; under his successor Manuel, Behaim seems to have lost his position at the court of Portugal. It is not certain that he had fallen into disgrace, at least, Pigoffetta reports, that the King had a chart of Behaim suspended in his chamber, on which the subsequently discovered Straits of Magellan are distinctly marked, and this is regarded as presumptive evidence that he was still esteemed by the King.

The years between 1494 and 1506, were rich in expeditions to the west and east, and we can only conjecture how Behaim was employed during that period. We do not certainly know whether he took part in any of them, but this is certain that he became poor, and for this we cannot account, for he brought a considerable sum with him from Nurnberg. Under King John II, he doubtless drew a salary from the court which he served as equerry.

Later important discoveries, as that of the Cape of Good Hope, the marine passage to the East Indies and of America, obscured his merits to some extent; younger men rose up prominently; most probably King Manuel on his accession, either reduced his salary or withdrew it altogether. Now he was obliged to have recourse to his private

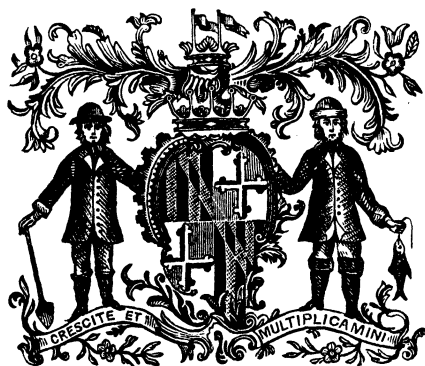
funds, for his knightly dignity forbade him to engage in commerce, and besides, it is likely he had but little taste for such employments. From the restless sea life, and love of adventure, the luxury and enormous expense of living, the ostentatious and wasteful extravagance which prevailed in Portugal at that time, when every body sought his fortune at sea, and hoped without any trouble to become rich again in the East Indies,—from these causes, his patrimony could very easily be spent. Behaim was not the only man in Portugal about that time, who from an exalted position in society, was brought down to penury and want. Camoens, the celebrated author of the *Lusiad*, (born 1517,) who had resided a long time in India, spent the last years of his life in Lisbon in wretched poverty, and subsisted on alms, which a slave begged for him in the streets at night. Pock, a cotemporary writer, gives us an idea of life in Portugal. He tells us that men became rich and poor very suddenly—that the idea of saving money never entered their minds, and that they would maintain an outward appearance of state and luxury, even if at home the most lamentable destitution prevailed. “This is their way here”—he says—“if a man has ten ducats he must have a scarlet coat, a silver sword, a guitar to serenade the ladies with at night. In Portugal, the air is poisoned with pride. They are the proudest people that can be found in the world; they ride the whole day through the streets with four servants walking behind them, and when they return home, instead of having fowls and other roast meats to eat, they devour a radish seasoned with salt.”

Probably Behaim was enticed into these extravagant habits, and he became poor. But sea faring men seldom become rich ; Columbus and Vespucci were both poor, however eagerly the former sought after the acquisition of wealth. It may be that Behaim lost his fortune in some unsuccessful private expedition, for we can hardly suppose that such an adventurous, restless spirit as he would be content with the inactive life of a plain citizen. He may have joined one of those numerous expeditions of the day, and like many other bold adventurers before him and since, paid the price of his rashness by the loss of his fortune. Thus we can explain why it was that he often found himself in pecuniary straits during his repeated sojourns in Lisbon, for after the death of John II, he probably drew no pension from the court.

Behaim died July 29, 1506, in a hospital instituted by the Germans in Lisbon, and was buried in the Dominican church. He left one son, but he does not appear to have inherited the talents or energy of his father.

It is not known whether this son has left any descendants. Most probably that branch of the family died out with the decease of the son, but the father, Martin Behaim, though not represented by any posterity, has achieved for himself a name that will be handed down to the latest generation, and cherished with veneration by all men of science.

MEMOIR  
OF THE  
BARON DE KALB,  
READ AT THE MEETING  
OF THE  
Maryland Historical Society,  
*7th January, 1858,*  
BY J. SPEAR SMITH.



BALTIMORE:  
PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY.  

---

1858.



## DE KALB.

---

GENTLEMEN :

THE recent presentation to the Society of a fine portrait of the Baron de Kalb, offers a proper occasion for some notice of this distinguished officer of the Revolutionary War. And, it may not be the less appropriate, from his having been in command of the Maryland Line from 1780 until his death.

John, Baron de Kalb, Baron de Kalsbriitt, &c. was born in 1732, near Nuremburg, in the dominions of Prussia. His parents were Protestants, and of some note among the noblesse of the country. They had it, therefore, in their power to give him a good education, and to imbue him with those high moral qualities, which ever distinguished his future life. At an early age he entered the service of France, as a cadet, in a German regiment. He rose by degrees to the rank of General of Brigade, and, in reward of his gallantry, was made a Knight of the Royal Order of Merit. Serving through the whole of the seven years war, and uniting a close study of the military art, with its practice in the field and in garrison, he became an accomplished soldier. The treaty of peace of 1763, put an end to his active duties and threw him into retirement.

This inactivity was not of long duration, as, soon after the date of the treaty, he was selected by the Duke de Choiseul, to visit America for the purpose of inquiring into

the military capabilities, political condition, and popular sentiment of the British Colonies. The confidence thus reposed in him, was a flattering manifestation of the reliance of that great statesman, on his talent and discretion, in the execution of so delicate a trust. It required zeal, secrecy, perspicacity and fidelity. It seems to have been faithfully discharged by him. But, ample and accurate as no doubt were his investigations, they have never been made public, and are probably still buried in the archives of France. It is no unfair conjecture to suppose, that the Baron was fully cognizant of the patriotic opposition made in 1761 by Jame Otis to the famous "Writs of Assistance." That opposition was, for the period, as astounding in its fearless defiance of the crown, as it was eloquent and logical, in the argument. The report of this prompt resistance of lawless power, soon pervaded the colonies, and in its traverse, awakened every mind to anxious thought, and every heart, to stern self-reliance. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, this bold movement was the beginning of the revolution. Not that Mr. Otis, or any other man caused it. The inbred devotion to liberty, common to all, was the real and dominating constituent of that happy result. Without it, there would have been no successful revolt. This ennobling sentiment came in with the Pilgrims of the East—with the companions of Smith—the followers of Penn—and the associates of Baltimore. As it came, so it continued, and when assailed, all banded for its defence.

These incipient discontents, with the ardent and unceasing discussions of them, would naturally make a vivid impression on a mind, so discerning as that of De Kalb. And the more so as, from a comparison of dates, he may have really witnessed, as the sequence of them, the meeting of the first Congress at New York in 1765.



The design of this convention being to bring about a union for the concentrated action of the colonies, imparted a still more threatening aspect to a dissatisfaction, now become so universal. It is probable, therefore, that he looked forward, with no little assurance, to the fruitful consequences that might result, from such grave events. Nor is it less likely that, knowing the far-reaching policy of De Choiseul,\* he felt great satisfaction in noting down these very remarkable proceedings. But, prior to his return from this tour of investigation, the latter was driven from the post of prime minister of Louis XV. by the intrigues of the infamous Duke d'Aiguillon, and the influence of Madame du Barri, the King's mistress. And so little importance was attached to the mission of De Kalb, by a degraded and frivolous court, that he had infinite difficulty in obtaining even an audience of the new minister, to render an account of the information he had gathered. De Choiseul had been cautiously preparing to retaliate on England, the injuries she had inflicted on his country. D'Aiguillon, the new premier, was careless of every thing but the retention of the power, he had so ignobly acquired. The former, in retribution of the loss to France of her colonies, had been aiming to wrench from England her transatlantic possessions, whilst the latter was prostrating the honor of the realm and the dignity of the crown, in the sensual revels of an imbecile King, and in base sycophancy to a low-bred courtesan.

France being still at peace, and De Kalb freed from active public duties, he retired to a small estate which he possessed, near Versailles. There, in the midst of his family circle, he devoted himself to literary and agricul-

\* Talleyrand said of the Duke—"Of all the men of our age, he possessed the greatest foresight, and as early as 1769 he felt assured of the separation of America from England." *Sur les Colonies*.

tural pursuits. In this seclusion he continued, until the conflict between Great Britain and her colonies had become so animated, as to arouse all his feelings in their behalf.

The profoundest mortification was felt by the French army, at the disgraceful stipulations of the treaty of 1763. They had shorn France to the quick. Whole provinces were wrested from her sceptre, and her glory in arms, was deeply stained. England had not only seized the Canadas, and occupied her insular colonies, but had nearly annihilated her navy, in repeated victories. By the treaty, the magnificent empire she had built up in America, was surrendered. Acquisitions, stretching from the Atlantic to the sources of the Mississippi, were forever lost. These vast territories, with the valley of that great river, to its embouchure in the Gulf of Mexico, gave her the signal stratagetical advantage, of almost encircling the sea-board colonies of her enemy. An attitude so commanding, ceased with the annexation to the British crown, of the French North American domain.

The French people also, were as indignant as was the army, at these national disasters. Canada was dear to them, not only from religious sympathy, but from the family ties which connected its inhabitants with them, in the most affectionate relations. There was scarce a province in France, unrepresented in this cherished abode. The first European settlers in these northern regions were exclusively French. No other had preceded them, nor had any other, up to the war of 1756, ever interfered with their happy and peaceful homes. Their clergy had diligently ministered to the wants of their flocks, and with a zeal worthy the best days of Christianity, had penetrated the distant wilds, bearing with them the meekness and purifying influences of the gospel. Cov-

ered with productive farms and thriving villages, French laws, habits and associations pervaded the whole colony. The sacrifice of such a possession might justly arouse the strongest feeling of indignation throughout France, and well excite her people to grasp any opportunity for its recovery, or for visiting the fullest retribution on the despoiler. Hence it was that, at a later period, both the army and people so enthusiastically sided with us, and that the timely and powerful aid of their government, was so liberally extended to the revolted British colonies.

His visit to these colonies, had made the Baron de Kalb intimately acquainted with their resources and means of defence, and the indomitable character of their people. Sympathizing with them in their resistance to oppression, whilst participating ardently in their repinings, excited by the ruinous peace of 1763, he was foremost in the proffer of his assistance. His zeal in the cause seems to have admitted of no procrastination, and to have led him to an early interview with the American agents, Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane. After several conferences he finally come to an agreement with them.

Among the important objects of the agency of these gentlemen, in Paris, was that of securing the services of capable officers, not only for commands, but to assist, with their experience, in training our undisciplined levies for the field. In November 1776, the Baron signed his contract with Mr. Deane, as well for himself as for Capt. Du Bois Martin\* and a few others, he had the privilege of nominating. His engagement was to serve the United States under the orders of Congress, and in return, to have the rank of Major General, with its incidents; his aides to be Majors. The contract being executed, he at

\*MS. Memoir of Du Bois Martin, Port Folio, No. 9, Md. Hist. Soc.

once entered on the task of obtaining other defenders of the American cause, from the ranks of the French army. Among those who, at the time were entertaining the same desire of uniting in the contest, was the Marquis De Lafayette, the most renowned, and the most important. Though strongly opposed by his family and his friends, he yet, at a conference with De Kalb, came to his final decision. His agreement with Mr. Deane was signed in December, being one month later than that of the Baron. He also was to have the rank of Major General.

As France had not yet declared war, all the movements of these officers had to be conducted with the utmost secrecy. Not the least of their difficulties was to get out of France either by land or sea, so closely were they watched by the British Ambassador, and their own authorities. They could not openly charter a vessel, nor could they embark at any of the French ports. Capt. Dubois Martin seems to have been the efficient agent, who, by his activity and boldness, overcame all impediments. At the time, he was a Captain of Infantry of a Regiment stationed at St. Domingo, but had previously been in the French Navy. By means of his brother, who was in the civil service, he had an interview with the Marquis, and then solved the difficulty, by proposing that the latter should supply the means of purchasing a vessel. This proposal was accepted without hesitation, and Du Bois Martin empowered to make the purchase. This, as he says, "I accomplished that very night before I slept." The vessel being equipped, the gallant officers who were to sail in her to our shores had the good fortune, through many perils, and in various disguises, to elude their pursuers, and to make a speedy and safe embarkation. They sailed from the small Spanish port of Passage in March 1777, and after a tedious voyage, arrived at Winyaw Bay, in

South Carolina, in the following June. It is probable the vessel was commanded by Du Bois Martin, as he says in his memoir, "The perfect success of the enterprise of course afforded, me great delight. In the month of June, I landed the Marquis and his suite of officers near Charleston." He further adds, we were pursued, "by boats sent to arrest us, by the Governor of Bordeaux—our answer to our pursuers was, that we would throw into the sea, the first man who attempted to board us." The reception of these officers by the people of Charleston, was so gratifying, and indeed, enthusiastic as to have largely added to the satisfaction, they felt, in having undertaken so gallant an adventure. But, more important matters than cordial greetings, and brilliant fêtes, were before them, and after a brief sojourn, they took their departure for the north.

On their arrival at Philadelphia, Congress, after some painful delays, ratified the appointment of the Marquis, to the rank of Major General, on the last of July. This enabled him to be earlier in the field than De Kalb, who encountered still greater difficulty. He did not receive his commission until the 15th of September. It was, however, antedated, so as to be cōtemporaneous with that of the Marquis. Gen. Conway, then a Brigadier, warmly opposed the appointment of the former, urging that he was a new man, had seen no service here, was his inferior in the French army, and therefore, should not now be made to outrank him. But, Congress, feeling bound to redeem the pledges given by its agents abroad, turned a deaf ear to the complaints of this turbulent and conceited officer, and in the end, fulfilled the compact between Mr. Deane and the Baron. From that moment, until his death, he devoted himself zealously, to the responsible charges entrusted to him.

Early in October, sanctioned by the authority of Congress, he applied to the Commander in Chief, for active service. But, as no vacancy existed, all the divisions of the army having their chiefs, it was found impossible to accede to his wish. After the fall of Fort Mifflin, in November, he was sent, with Generals Knox and St. Clair, by Washington, to decide on the expediency of retaining possession of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, on the Jersey Shore, and of thus being enabled to keep the enemy's fleet in check, or of withdrawing the troops from a post, they had so long, and so bravely defended. In their report, they advised the retention of the position, and that it should be strengthened, by an additional force. This was done, and the whole command entrusted to General Greene.

During the same month he was a member of the Council of General Officers, to which was submitted the question of attacking, or of beleaguering the enemy, in Philadelphia. It was decided that the strength of the British defences, stretching from the Schuylkill to the Delaware, was too formidable, to admit of a successful assault, and that the American army was not in sufficient force to besiege such extended lines. A siege also, was the less promising, from the access, in the rear, to the river which the enemy enjoyed, for obtaining his supplies. Both of these plans were abandoned. In the vote of four, for an attack, and eleven against it, the Baron, always remarkable for his prudence, took his place with the latter.

He is next found in a situation which bid fair for active service, and which was every way congenial to his feelings. A project for an attack on Canada, was, without the sanction of Washington, hastily formed in February, 1778. Lafayette was ordered by Congress to lead the

invading force, of which Conway was to be one of the Generals. There being no other of higher rank, detailed for that service, he would necessarily, have been next in command to the Marquis. The latter however, soon disappointed this ambitious device, by insisting on having De Kalb, assigned to the very responsible post, so artfully obtained by Conway. But, the ill-digested scheme fell through, from a sheer want of an adequate force, and of sufficient resources. Generals Lafayette and De Kalb were, therefore, ordered to return immediately to Head Quarters, with the few troops they found at Albany.

In May, the army being still at Valley Forge, and the British in Philadelphia, another council of war was convened to again decide whether an attack should be attempted. The objections to it, which existed on the previous occasion, having undergone no change, it was unanimously advised, to remain on the defensive and wait for events. On the 18th June, however, the enemy having evacuated the City, and crossed the Delaware, Gen. Washington was enabled to take the field, and to commence offensive operations.

During the campaign of the last year, 1778, the Maryland and Delaware regiments, which always acted in one body, were under the command of Major General Sullivan, who being detached to the north, that duty devolved on Gen. Smallwood. The campaign of 1779, was one of stratagetic movements and combinations, rather than of conflict, between the belligerents, each one aiming to out-general the other, and thus, to gain the vantage ground.

In March, 1780, we find De Kalb at the head of the troops which defended the lines, from Elizabethtown to Amboy, and in April, being put in command of the

Maryland Division; he was ordered to the South. When these orders were received, the Division was at Morristown, but no time was permitted to elapse, before its march was begun. It was composed, as usual of the Maryland and Delaware battalions. Throughout the war, they acted as one body, and wherever the storm of battle raged fiercest, or the deadly strife was the most desperate and sanguinary, there were they ever foremost. To be selected for the command of such men was a high honor, one too, for which De Kalb was deeply grateful, and which he was always proud to acknowledge.

The long journey from New Jersey to South Carolina, was made on foot, with the exception of the passage from Elkton, to Petersburg, in Virginia. The two brigades, one under Smallwood, and the other, under Gist, had not the satisfaction of passing through Baltimore, so urgent was the state of affairs in the South. Thus, the pleasure was denied them, of being welcomed by that genial hospitality, for which she has ever been distinguished. All classes would have vied with each other in tendering to them, the most affectionate attentions. They were not only brethren in patriotism, but really so, from the more endearing ties of kindred. The Legislature of the State however, made liberal appropriations, for the comfort of both officers and men, whose spirit was thus cheered on, to the endurance of the dangers and hardships before them. In their tedious march, they were subjected to unceasing difficulties, as well from want of food, as from a scarcity of the means of transportation, in a thinly settled and wasted country. These became the greater, as their distance from Petersburg increased, and on their arrival at Hillsborough, in N. Carolina, it was necessary to halt for a few days, to restore the vigor of the men. It was hoped too that, during this delay, many of the



militia of N. Carolina and Virginia, who had been aroused to renewed activity, by the advent of De Kalb, would reach the camp.

The Baron was not entirely disappointed in these expectations, and having refreshed his troops, he moved on towards South Carolina. At Deep River, where he arrived on the 6th July, he was overtaken by Gen. Gates, who had been appointed by Congress, not by Washington, to the chief command, in the South. The success at Saratoga, had given him a high repute, for military genius, and the most unbounded confidence was reposed in his ability, by the country. Not so, however, by those who knew him better. De Kalb received him with all the military honors, due to his rank, and handed over to him the command of the men, he had so well conducted, through intense sufferings, to the scene of action. When the Baron was chosen by Washington, the South was under the command of Gen. Lincoln, to whose aid the Maryland division was detached. But, should any untoward event displace the latter, De Kalb would necessarily occupy the vacant post. The capitulation of Charleston, in May, caused Lincoln to return to the North, and that event, for which the prudence of Washington had prepared, resulted in the command devolving on the Baron. Gates however, succeeded in counteracting the effects of this forecast, and of these effective precautions, of the commander in chief. The latter, it was well known, would have given the preference to Gen. Greene, should Congress determine to confide the Southern Department, to some other than De Kalb. Gates had been for some time, in fact, making the most zealous efforts to obtain this honorable position. It would thwart Washington, minister to his own ambition, and, from the imperfect means of intercommunication of the period,

render him nearly independent of the authority of one, to whose high place, he enviously aspired, and to supplant whom, he had entered into the cabal of Conway and others. In a letter which he addressed to a South Carolina member of Congress, he invited earnest attention to the sufferings, and the claims to protection of the South, and indicated the means, by which relief could be afforded. This letter was read in Congress, and with other appliances, led to his being commissioned by that body, to the grave, and responsible duties, for which he was so ill qualified, and which would have been so much better discharged, by the general he displaced.

The main objects of this expedition were—to reinforce Lincoln—to give heart to the whigs—to repress the Tories, and to rally around it, the armed men of Virginia and North Carolina, whilst such a display would re-invigorate the partisan corps of Sumpter, Marion, and Pickens. In the mean time, if Lincoln's command were broken up, it should encounter no useless risk, that might destroy this plan, nor should it strike a blow, unless it could be done, with telling effect, taking care to strain every nerve, to harass or check the aggressor, by surprises, cutting off convoys, and by all those annoyances, which damp the ardor of an enemy, and demoralize an invading foe. With these salutary views, ever present in the cautious, and well trained mind of De Kalb, he was making his slow, but prudent advances. The enemy being at Camden, under Lord Rawdon, he had determined to make a circuitous march from Deep River, through a region where his men could be well supplied; and with that aim, he was preparing to establish magazines and hospitals. By pursuing this course, he would have come down, on the flank of the enemy, brought his column, well conditioned into the field, whilst its strength would be increased, by

the reinforcements which would be daily joining his standard. To these advantages must be added the very great one, of the improvement in the discipline, and consequent steadiness of the militia, by a longer association with the regular troops. It was an admirable design, worthy of all praise, and if it had not been, in the end, attended by brilliant achievements, it certainly never could have been visited by the overwhelming disasters which an opposite course inflicted. Had the original plan of the campaign been adhered to, the brave sons of Maryland and Delaware would not have fallen a sacrifice to inflated vanity and consummate negligence.

As soon as Gates assumed the command, he announced his intention to march, in as direct a road as possible, to Camden. All the officers remonstrated against this rash step, urging the impracticability of the intervening country, its utter barrenness, and the debilitating effects on the men, of such an exposure,—that they would be worn down, from want of food, and thus reach the enemy's post, enfeebled and dispirited by exhaustion and sickness. The Adjutant General, O. H. Williams, presented these objections, with all the force of his great ability and eminent soldiership. The Virginia cavalry officers also, begged him to delay but a few days, in order that their men might join them, and thus, have an available force of horse added to his command. He obstinately refused, expecting to find the enemy greatly his inferior in numbers, and saying that Armand's troop would suffice. It consisted of but sixty men. He reached the camp on the 25th July, and put the army en route, on the 27th—merely occupying these two days, in reviewing the troops, and in issuing orders, for their departure. On the 13th of August they encamped at Rugely's Mills, or Clermont, and as had been foreseen, the men were reduced in effi-

ciency, by hunger,\* fatigue and dysentery. Here he received advices from Gen. Sumpter, with a request for a reinforcement of his small band, to enable him to capture a British convoy, on its way to Camden. Gates, without the least hesitation, complied, and detached four hundred men and two pieces of artillery, under Col. Woolford of Maryland. One hundred of these men were regulars. This was another false step, for, on the eve of assailing the enemy, his whole force should have been kept well together, in order to meet the varied contingencies of a conflict, and the more so, as the number of his adversaries was only conjectural. Moreover, if he proved victorious, the convoy would, necessarily, have fallen into his hands, and if defeated, it would, as surely, be recaptured should Sumpter have succeeded. So, it turned out, having been retaken by Tarleton, after its seizure by Sumpter, with the loss also, of the greater part of Woolford's men.

As soon as Lord Rawdon got wind of the approach of Gates, he drew in all his outposts, strengthened his defences, with redoubts, and awaited the assault. But, being joined by Lord Cornwallis, with a strong reinforcement, they determined to assume the offensive. Their army numbered full three thousand men, most of them veterans, but all well enured to discipline, and to battle, having also, a strong body of cavalry, under Tarleton, and six heavy cannon. Except a body of North Carolinians, they were all regulars, and even this battalion had served so long, as to have become equal to their associates.

The morning report of Adjutant General Williams, puts the American army at three thousand and fifty men, of whom more than one-half were militia, and the larger portion of these were now, for the first time, in presence of

\* "It occurred to some, that the hair powder, which remained in their bags, would thicken soup, and it was actually applied.'"—WILLIAMS' NARRATIVE.

an enemy. To these must be added seven pieces of artillery and the handful of horse under Lt. Col. Armand. Thus, numerically, the adversaries were nearly equal. In their qualifications for battle, there was the greatest disparity. Viewing them in this light, the Americans were outnumbered in the proportion of two to one, with the disadvantage also, of a vast inferiority in cavalry.

Gen. Gates seemed to be under the strong conviction that Lord Rawdon was much too weak, to withstand him,—that it was too late for him to receive any succor—and that, an undoubted conquest, was to crown him with fresh laurels. He took things as they appeared—believed they could undergo no change—and did not stoop to inform himself, of what was transpiring beyond his own camp. Vain glorious, and inflated with the triumph over Burgoyne, he had persuaded himself, as well as others, that he was a great martial chieftain, and could rely, exclusively, on his own superior genius. A resort to the experience of his subordinates, much less to more humble sources of information, was superfluous to a leader of such military sagacity. De Kalb, on the contrary, advised their continuance at Clermont,—to strengthen a naturally good position, and to wait, at least, for more reliable intelligence, than they now had. And, if attacked, it would better suit the composition of the American army, to be on the defensive than to stake a combat, in open field, on a force so largely consisting of raw militia. Besides, the enemy may have been reinforced, and if so, might possibly, have such an excess, as to render our attempts either useless, or fatal to the expedition. Most of the officers concurred in this reasoning. It was unheeded, and the advance was ordered to take place, at ten, on the night of the 15th. The design was, by a forced march, to take

the enemy by surprise, to fall on him at dawn, and achieve an easy victory.

Cornwallis, prompted by a like motive, left Camden, about the same hour, to beat up the quarters of the Americans, at Clermont. The advanced guards of the two armies met in the dark, at midnight, and after a skirmish of some minutes, fell back on their respective lines. In this affair, Col. Porterfield\* of Virginia, was wounded, and afterwards made prisoner. Both generals determined to pause until day-light, to form their order of battle. And now, to his utter astonishment, Gates learnt from a prisoner, that the enemy was commanded by Cornwallis, in person, and that he had brought with him from Charleston, a strong addition to the detachment, at Camden. This led to another council of war, in which it was rashly concluded to "fight." This gallant, but imprudent decision, failed to receive the approval of De Kalb, Williams, and others of the Continental line, they preferring to return to the defensible ground at Clermont,† and the more so, as the intended surprise had entirely failed. When Williams summoned De Kalb to the council, the Baron said,‡ "Well, has the General given you orders to retreat the army." A stolid indifference to such opinions, being clearly manifested, preparations were made, and by both parties, for the eventful struggle.

Lord Cornwallis formed his alignment, by stationing on his right wing, a corps of light infantry, with the 23d and 33d regiments, headed by Lt. Col. Webster. Lord Rawdon was assigned to the left, with the volunteers of

\* A brave and excellent officer.

† "One hundred men there, I am told, would have defended the pass, against the whole British army."—*Gov. Nash of N. C. to Gen. Washington.*—

SPARKS.

‡ Williams' Narrative.

Ireland, the infantry of the Legion, a battalion of the N. Carolina regiment, and four pieces of artillery. The 71st regiment, with two field pieces, formed the reserve, part covering the right, and the other, the left of the array, with Tarleton's horse, in the rear of the whole.\*

Gen. Gates made his arrangements, by posting the 2d Maryland Brigade, including the Delaware contingent, on the right, under Gen. Gist. The Virginia militia were placed on the left, commanded by Gen. Stevens, whilst those of N. Carolina, led by Gen. Casswell, formed the centre, the greater part of the artillery occupying the road. The 1st Maryland Brigade, under Gen. Smallwood, constituted the reserve, including Armand's cavalry. The extreme flanks of both armies rested on swamps. De Kalb took his station with the right, Gates being some 200, yards in the rear, to overlook the combatants, and to issue his orders.\*

The mere statement of the American and British dispositions, shows the radical defects of the former, and the superiority of the latter. The enemy's front was strong, not only in the qualifications of the troops, but in the stations of the artillery, as well as, in the adaptation of the reserve to every emergency. Regulars on the right and left, a compact centre, an efficient reserve, with a strong body of horse, to dash at the opposing ranks, the instant they were thrown into disorder. The only part of the American front that had any strength, was the right, and this, for a time, bore the whole brunt of the conflict. Even, here, Gen. Gist had, during the battle, to repair an omission, which as he supposed, was left to his discretion,† by Gen. Gates, and he therefore ordered a Delaware company to fill up an exposed interval. The

\* Official Reports, Md. Journal, 1780.

† Gist Papers, vol. 2, Md. H. S.

centre was weak, the left more so, and too much of the artillery seemed to be massed in the road. Had the feeble left been sustained by more of the field pieces, or, had it been composed of Smallwood's brigade, which constituted the reserve, the result might, and probably would have been, more propitious to the patriot cause.

The two armies being thus drawn up, the battle began at dawn, on the 16th August, by the interchange of discharges of their artillery. Williams, to inspirit the militia of the left, led forward a body of skirmishers, in its front. He hoped also, by this step, to check the enemy, and by it, to still further encourage these untried men, lest their want of steadiness, under fire, should prove fatal to the day. The effort was fruitless. The British right, with loud shouts, advanced rapidly, and pouring in a brisk fire, so appalled the militia of the American left, that they broke, threw down their muskets, and fled, taking with them, all the N. Carolina militia, except four hundred men, under Col. Dixon. These bravely stood their ground, for sometime. De Kalb now ordered up Smallwood, with his reserve, to fill the gap, and unite with Gist. But, his numbers were not sufficient, to completely extend to the swamp. Still, he arrested the onward course of the enemy; and the whole line now became engaged. Reduced as was the American army by the flight of the militia, yet it never flinched, but contested every inch of ground with heroic courage. Borne back by the unequal pressure of the foe, they as often rallied and caused them, in return, to recede. It was now a strife of the bayonet, fighting hand to hand, man to man, in this desperate conflict. Never, on any field, was there a greater display of indomitable fortitude, and chivalric bearing. De Kalb, still bent on success, re-formed his shattered ranks, for another assault



on the British line, now reinforced by their reserve. All rallied to the call, and placing himself in their front, he led on that last, and fearful attack, by which he hoped, if not to gain the mastery, to at least inflict such a loss to the enemy, as would secure his retreat. Well did they breast the serried ranks of their adversaries, and well too, was the work of death, done by the bayonets of Maryland. But, in this great crisis of their fate, De Kalb fell, at the head of his devoted followers, pierced with eleven wounds. Despite even this sad event, Smallwood's brigade, and Gist still maintained the unequal struggle, when Cornwallis, amazed at so obstinate a resistance, ordered his light infantry to push round the American left, and thence to its rear. And seeing that, his opponents were without cavalry, he instantly brought up his own. It promptly obeyed the order, and at this eventful moment, made a furious charge on the Americans, worn, and staggering under the unceasing blows of overpowering numbers. Now, did the refusal of Gates to await the assemblage of his own cavalry, tell with fatal effect. The proposed delay would have averted the ruinous discomfiture which ensued. For, had our gallant mounted men, led on by Col. Washington, been in the field, Tarleton would have been bravely met, and held at bay, during which the desperate onslaught of De Kalb, might have changed the fate of the day. Infantry and dragoons thus, came crushing down on the fragments of the American line, and threw it into inextricable confusion. Nearly surrounded by their opponents, and with no corps of horse to shield them, from that of the enemy, or to cover a retreat, it was impossible for them to reform, or to retire in a body, from this terrible *melée*. It became, from necessity, a *sauve qui peut*, each man shifting for himself. Fortunately, the adjoining morasses, to

which numbers of them retired, afforded shelter, from the brutal troopers of Tarleton.

Generals Gates, Stevens and Casswell did all in their power, to rally the flying militia, but in vain, and they with Armand's horse, were swept along, by the retreating tide. Gates, not knowing that De Kalb was still battling for victory, and supposing the whole force had fled, retired to Charlotte, some sixty miles from the scene. The air indeed, was so still, and the smoke so dense, as to shut out all that was passing. Thus ended the battle of Camden, as wrong in its conception, as it was defective in military arrangements, yet, ever memorable for the signal gallantry of the Maryland and Delaware lines. It was the most disastrous of the whole war. Artillery, small arms, ammunition, baggage wagons, with their contents, fell, without exception, into the hands of the enemy. All was lost, save the honor of the heroic sons of Maryland and Delaware, whose prowess extorted, even from Britons, the meed of praise. That the regulars should have so firmly held their ground, after being abandoned, by the whole of the left, and centre, is well entitled to remembrance. When an army is marshalled for battle, if any important section of the front, take flight, it is not unusual for the whole to be fatally intimidated. It is rare that such an event, does not create so much want of confidence, as to lead to despair, and a consequent participation in the panic and dissolution of the whole force. It is still more rare for them to keep their ranks, when left to their fate, by so large a body, as two-thirds of the whole. So argued Gen. Gates, but these brave men never seemed, for a moment, to think even of a retreat. On the contrary, though their reserve was broken through, by the fleeing militia, they yet did not falter, or give way. The reserve also, immediately closed up,

sternly advanced, and drove back the enemy, who were coming exultingly on, supposing there was nothing left, but to pursue and slay the runaways. No less praise is due to Gist's brigade for its valor, in continuing the fight, when so deserted, than to the reserve under Smallwood, when so broken by the militia, for its steadiness, and its prompt junction, with their heroic comrades.

Nor should it be forgotten that, on this bloody field were not only Smallwood, and Gist, and Williams, but a Howard, a Gunby, Hall, Giles, Anderson, Winder, Gasaway, Reid, Beale, Duval, Handy, Somerville, Kilty, Nelson, Brice, Jamison, Dorsey, Hanson, Norris, and many others of Maryland, with Vaughan, Kirkwood, Willson, McKennan, Patton, Rhoads, &c. of Delaware.

With the exception of prisoners, the loss on both sides, was nearly equal, though were we to credit the English account, that on our part, was much the greater. Nothing is more common than to exaggerate the force, and the losses of an enemy, after a battle. The British commander has, in no way, deviated from such examples. In his official letter he makes two statements of the strength of the Americans. In the first, he rates it at full six thousand men, and in the second, he reduces it to five thousand, whereas, as has been shown, it was, in fact, but three thousand and fifty. Our killed and wounded are, in the same spirit, put down at nine hundred, when in reality, our loss, including militia and prisoners, did not exceed three hundred and fifty, of whom, more than a third of the wounded, subsequently recovered.\* His

\* Among other misstatements of Cornwallis, are those of the death of Gen. Gregory, and the capture of Gen. Rutherford. Their names are not mentioned in the American official report of the killed, wounded and prisoners.—*See note A at the end.* And, Gov. Nash, of N. C. writes that they, with others enumerated by him, "are safe."

own loss he reports to be only two hundred and twenty-four, in killed, wounded and missing. In opposition to this, we have the acknowledgment of a British officer that, "they had seven hundred killed and wounded, either mortally, or so as to disable them in future."\* The probabilities are however, as has been stated, that there was but little disparity, in the losses of the two parties, though it is possible, the admission of a British officer may be nearer the truth. But, admitting an equality only, there could be no stronger evidence, than it adduces, of the devotedness, spirit, and self-possession of the American soldiery, with such large odds of a veteran force, to contend with. It is not easy to state the precise number of the American regulars who fought the battle of Camden. About fourteen hundred left Morristown, and it is no unfair presumption, from the hardships of the march, the scarcity of food, and its unwholesomeness, that not more than eleven hundred were fit for duty, on the day of battle. Even on the night march from Clermont, many of the men, afflicted with dysentery, were compelled to quit the ranks, as is mentioned by Williams. Now, if the one hundred regulars, detached under Woolford, be deducted, there were left but one thousand, to contend with the three thousand of the enemy. Many writers give but nine hundred, to the Americans.

Immediately after the battle, Lord Cornwallis returned to Charleston, after directing Lord Rawdon to hold the post, at Camden, and to fortify its front, the flanks being covered by the Wateree and a deep creek. And, so stunned were they, by the severe blow they had received, as to have been disabled from advancing further, northward.

\* Maryland Journal.

Gov. Nash makes their loss 500.

This consequence, dearly as it was bought, was attended with others, of no small advantage. The enemy were deterred from overrunning North, as they had done, South Carolina and Georgia, and time was gained, for reuniting the scattered remains of the army, at Hillsborough. In a few weeks, nearly seven hundred of the regulars, and many of the militia, were reassembled, and in good condition, to receive Gen. Greene, who was promptly despatched to supersede Gen. Gates. When the former therefore, reached the South, he had it in his power, to take the field, and begin that career of glory, which placed him, second only, to Washington. Do not these results give a sufficient response, to the remark, which has been made, that the regulars fought too long, at Camden? If they had fled with the militia, such would have been the confusion of a frantic crowd, as to have denied all order, and to have rendered the carnage, inevitably greater, whilst those who escaped this fate, must have been made prisoners. As it was, the stern resistance of the Continentals, saved the militia, and a goodly number of their own body made a successful retreat. It was better then, to stand up to the brave encounter, as well for their own manhood, as for the good of their country.

On the fall of De Kalb, his aide Col. Dubuysson, raising him in his arms, and showing him to the surrounding enemies, stated his rank, and implored them to spare him. In thus exposing himself to save his chief, he also, was wounded, and made prisoner. Whilst prostrate and disabled, the British soldiers, with their characteristic cruelty\* were still thrusting their bayonets, into the

\* The barbarities practised by the British army, on the Americans, were of ruthless severity. These cruelties, were not inflicted on the soldiery alone, but were extended to non-combatants in town and country, with rare excep-

fallen General. And, in their savage greed for plunder, they even stripped him, to his shirt.\* The entreaties of Dubuysson, at last, prevailed, and after the fell excitement of the strife had subsided, with unwonted humanity on their part, they extended to him, every succour in their power. In a few days however, he expired, having on his death bed, dictated a valedictory letter to Generals Smallwood and Gist, intending it also, for the officers and soldiers of his division. As the substance only, of this letter has been quoted by the historians of the revolution, it is but right, to give it, in full, on this occasion.

CHARLOTTE *August 26th, 1780.*†

*Dear Generals,*—Having received wounds in the action of the 16th instant, I was made prisoner, with the Honorable Major General the Baron De Kalb, with whom I served as Aid-De-Camp and friend, and had an opportunity of attending that great and good officer, during the short time he languished with eleven wounds, which proved mortal on the third day.

It is with particular pleasure I obey the Baron's last commands, in presenting his most affectionate compliments to all the officers and men of his division. He expressed the greatest satisfaction in the testimony given by the British army, of the bravery of his troops; and he was charmed with the firm opposition they made to superior force, when abandoned by the rest of the army. The gallant behaviour of the Delaware regiments, and the Companies of Artillery attached to the Brigades, afforded him infinite pleasure. And the exemplary con-

tions. So great was their excess that, it was said in Europe;—"England has revived in America, the ferocity of the Goths, and the brutal ravages of the most savage of the invaders of Rome."

\* Williams' Narrative.

† Dubuysson was now on parole.

duct of the whole Division, gave him an endearing sense of the merit of the troops he had the honor to command.

I am, Dear Generals, with regard and respect, your most obedient humble servant,

LE CHEVALIER DUBUYSSON, *Lt. Col.*

*To the Brigadiers SMALLWOOD and GIST.\**

The Baron De Kalb was six feet in height, erect, and well-proportioned, with a manly face, and an agreeable expression. In his habits he was remarkably abstemious, and had trained himself to the endurance of the severest hardships. Respected, and beloved by his troops, he was distinguished for his sagacity in council, a wary circumspection in his preparations, and for his fearless chivalry in battle. He was well read in the best English, German, and French authors, speaking these languages with fluency. He married Anne Elizabeth Van Robais, by whom he had three children, two sons and one daughter. The elder of the sons perished on the revolutionary scaffold of France, in 1793. The second, the Baron Elie De Kalb, who served with distinction in the French army, married Elise Signard, and had two children, a son who died in early life, and a daughter, Leonore. She married the Viscount d'Alzac, and they are now residing at Milou near Paris. They have five sons. Anne Marie Caroline, the daughter of Major General Baron De Kalb, married Jean Luc Geymuller, a Swiss officer in the French army. They left three sons and one daughter. Thus the name of De Kalb is extinct, the descendants bearing the names of D'Alzac and Geymuller.

In Congress, on 14th October 1780, it was—

*Resolved*, That a Monument be erected to the Memory

\* Maryland Journal, 1780.

of the late Major General the Baron De Kalb, in the City of Annapolis in the State of Maryland, with the following inscription:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
THE BARON DE KALB,  
Knight of the Royal Order of Military Merit,  
Brigadier of the Armies of France,

And

Major-General in the Service of the United States of America.

Having served with Honor and Reputation for three years,  
He gave a last and glorious Proof of his Attachment to the  
Liberties of Mankind and the Cause of America,

In the Action near Camden, in the State of South Carolina,

On the 16th of August, 1780;

Where, leading on the Troops of the Maryland and  
Delaware Lines against Superior Numbers,

And animating them by his Example to Deeds of Valour,

He was pierced with many Wounds, and

On the 19th following expired, in the 48th Year of his Age,

The Congress of the United States of America

In Gratitude to his Zeal, Services, and Merit,

Have erected this Monument.

It is painful to know that this resolution has never been carried into effect. For this omission, on the part of our revolutionary ancestors, when we remember their destitution, their anxious moments, and the countless difficulties claiming their daily attention, there is much of apology. But, for their descendants no such exemption can be invoked. Ample opportunity, and leisure, with no stinted means, have been at their bidding. The ungrateful neglect still exists, though the attention of the Federal Government has been repeatedly invited to the discharge of this patriotic duty. It should be ever cherished as a sacred bequest from patriot sires, to be religiously fulfilled, by their more opulent descendants.



His remains however, are not unhonored. They were interred at Camden, and the citizens of South Carolina, have erected over them, a beautiful structure, recounting his heroism, and devotion to the cause, he so generously espoused. It is a monument, suited to its purpose, ennobling its authors, whilst transmitting to after times, an apt exemplar of their patriotism, and his worth.\* It is still more endeared, from the corner stone having been laid in 1825, by Lafayette, the companion in arms, and devoted friend of De Kalb.

When the Cincinnati Society was formed, in 1783, diplomas of membership, with the appropriate badges of the Institution, were granted to the sons of De Kalb, and were, most gratefully, acknowledged by them.

In the official despatch of Gen. Gates to Gen. Washington, of the 30th of August, from Hillsborough, he says: "Too much honor cannot be paid by Congress, to the memory of the Baron De Kalb. He was every thing an excellent officer should be, and in the cause of the United States, he has sacrificed his life."

Washington also, bears testimony to his worth.—writing to Lt. Col. Dubuysson, on the 10th October 1780, he thus expresses himself: "I sincerely lament the loss of the Baron De Kalb. The manner in which he died, fully justified the opinion which I have ever entertained of him, and will endear his memory to the country." So likewise, in his reply, dated 25th May, 1791, to a congratulatory address of the inhabitants of Camden, he says: "Your grateful remembrance of that excellent friend and gallant officer, the Baron De Kalb, does honor to the goodness of your hearts. With your regrets, I mingle mine for his loss, and to your praise I join the tribute of my esteem for his memory."†

\* See Note B. at the end.

† See Note C. at the end.

There were certain arrears of pay, due to him at the time of his death, and in 1819, his heirs petitioned Congress for their liquidation. By the urgent advocacy of Mr. Lowndes of S. Carolina, a grant of some land in Ohio, was awarded to them. From their ignorance of the laws of the country, they found, when endeavoring to turn this grant to account, that the land had been sold for taxes. All attempts to recover it were fruitless. They consequently, at a later period, again appealed to the bounty of Congress. Just as these claims proved to be, after undergoing the severest scrutiny, they were yet slurred over, from session to session, until 1855. An act was then passed, which provides that, "in consideration of the claims, services, and sacrifices of the late Major General Baron De Kalb in the war of the revolution," there be paid to his children and heirs the sum of sixty-six thousand and ninety dollars, and seventy-six cents. The Legislature of Maryland had strongly urged the payment of these claims, and the Hon. Henry May, one of her representatives in Congress, was mainly instrumental in having her behests fulfilled.

However tardy, this act of justice, it nevertheless, affords a gratifying evidence of the integrity, as well as, of the gratitude of the country. And, may we not indulge the hope that, a no less laudable sentiment, will yet erect the monument decreed by those, from whom we have received our independence, our liberties, and an empire republic?

# NOTES.

---

## NOTE A.

“List of Continental Officers killed, captivated, wounded, and missing, in the action of the 16th and 18th<sup>th</sup> August, 1780.”

### *Killed.*

The Honorable Major-General the Baron de Kalb.

Capt. Williams, 6th Maryland Regiment.

Capt. Duvall, 2d do.

Lieutenant Donovan, 6th do.

Lieut: and Adjutant Coleman, Artillery.

### *Wounded.*

Captain Somerville, 6th Maryland Regiment.

“ Gibson, 5th do.

“ Roun, Virginia State Artillery.

Lieut: Duvall, 3d Maryland Regiment.

“ Sears, 2d do.

Ensign Fickle, 7th do.

### *Prisoners.*

Lt. Col. Woolford, 5th Maryland Regiment—wounded.

Lt. Col. Vaughan, Delaware.

Lt. Col. Porterfield, Virginia State Regiment—wounded.

Lt. Col. Dubuysson, A. D. Camp Gen. de Kalb.

Major Winder, 1st Maryland Regiment.

Major Patton, Delaware Regiment.

Major Pinckney, A. D. Camp Gen. Gates—wounded.

Captains Brice, 3d Maryland Regiment.

Hoops, 4th do.

Lynch, 5th do.

Hamilton, 5th do.

\* This date refers to the affair, in which the convoy, was recaptured from Sumpter.

Captain Hardman, 2d Maryland Regiment, wounded.

Smith, 3d do. do.

Dorsey, Artillery, do.

La Brune, Legion,\* do.

Rhoads, Delaware Regiment.

Lamouth, do.

Captain-Lieut. Waters, Artillery.

Lieutenants Shoemaker, 4th Maryland Regiment, wounded.

Hanson, 4th do. do.

Read, 5th do. do.

Norris, 6th do. do.

Wallace, Artillery.

Foot, Legion.

Moseley, Artillery.

Duff, Delaware Regiment.

Shillington, do.

Lieut. & Adj. Purvis, do.

Ensigns Burgiss, 4th Maryland Regiment.

“ Roach, Delaware do.

Volunteers Nelson, 6th Maryland do. wounded.

Rutledge, 4th do.

### *Missing.*

Captain Morris, 7th Maryland Regiment—wounded.

Gassaway, 2d do.

Lieut. Gassaway, 2d do.

Captain Meredith, Artillery.

Captain-Lieut. Blair, do.

(Signed)

O. H. WILLIAMS.

*Hillsborough*, August 29th, 1780.

\* The Legion was commanded by Armand, and at the time, consisted of sixty horsemen and forty infantry.

## NOTE B.

In March 1825, the remains of De Kalb, were exhumed from the grave, in which they were interred, after his death, at Camden. They were transported with due ceremonial, to the new tomb, prepared for them, and on which a monument has been erected, by the people of South Carolina.

Immediately over the grave, a stone slab was placed, having engraved on it. "This stone was placed over the remains of BARON DE KALB, by Gen. Lafayette, 1825." It had on it also, the words,—*"Pædus" "Esto Perpetuum."*

Over this was erected a white marble obelisk, with the following inscription:— "HERE lie the remains of BARON DE KALB, a German by birth, but in principle, a citizen of the world. His love of liberty induced him to leave the Old World, to aid the citizens of the New, in their struggle for INDEPENDENCE. His distinguished talents and many virtues, weighed with Congress, to appoint him MAJOR GENERAL in their REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. He was second in command in the battle fought near Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780, between the British and Americans, and there nobly fell, covered with wounds, while gallantly performing deeds of valor, in rallying the friends, and opposing the enemies of his adopted country."

"In gratitude for his zeal and services, the citizens of South Carolina have erected this monument."

On that occasion, Gen. Lafayette said:—

"In that army, Sir, which offered a perfect assemblage of every civic and military virtue, Major General Baron De Kalb has acted a conspicuous part. His able conduct, undaunted valor, and glorious fall in the first battle of Camden, form one of the remarkable traits of our struggle for independence and freedom. He was cordially devoted to our American cause, and while his public and private qualities have endeared him to his cotemporaries, here I remain to pay to his merits on this tomb, the tribute of an admiring witness, of an intimate companion, of a mourning friend."

## NOTE C.

Col. Nicholas Rogers of Baltimore, was an aide-de-camp of De Kalb, at Valley Forge, and on the line, from Elizabethtown to Amboy. When Gen. H. Lee was writing his *Memoirs of the War*, in the South, he applied to Col. Rogers, for such information, as he might possess, in regard to the Baron. Having been permitted to make extracts, from the Colonel's reply to Gen. Lee, they are now added, as of high value, coming from such a source. From the intimacy also, which usually exists, between a General and his aide, the best opportunity was presented to Col. Rogers, of gaining a clear insight into the character of his chief.

The reply is dated, New York, 24th January, 1810.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Respecting my good and old friend the Baron de Kalb, about whom we have formerly had some conversation, I wish I could give you such information as would contribute to make your intended publication as interesting as the world will naturally expect from your pen; but the long lapse of time and other circumstances, may probably, contrary to your expectations, render it rather scanty, however, such as it is, I am happy to place it at your service.

"In frequent conversations with him on the affairs of our country—then almost the only topic of conversation—he has repeatedly told me of his having been in this country between the years 1763 and 1765, in a concealed character,—as a German travelling for his pleasure.—This he did, from one end of the continent to the other; and, as I know him to have been an acute observer, he must have picked up a great deal of information for the French Court, by which, I have no doubt, he was expressly employed for that particular purpose.

"Speaking the English language well, and possessing the most conciliating and condescending manners, he had it in his power to insinuate himself everywhere, from the drawing-room down to the grog shop, and be assured that he culled from every group something appertaining to his mission, and marked well, in every countenance even, and conversation, the particular partialities and antipathies towards the two great leading nations of Europe, Great Britain and France. He often declared to me that such was the universal prepossession in favor of the former, and the almost instinctive hostility to the latter, that he sincerely believed and often said that nothing could have induced the Americans to have revolted against the mother country but the highly injudicious and short-sighted conduct

of the British ministry, whom he frequently ridiculed for their egregious folly in so wantonly casting off such an inestimable and powerful auxiliary.

"He has often told me that, in all his travels from North to South, he could find nobody of any consequence, either native or British, who did not think that Old England was the *ne plus ultra* and perfection of all human power.

"In the latter part of his residence amongst us, in his assumed character, he became, by some accident, suspected, was taken up, and was, I believe, put into prison for a few days. However, he soon made his way good and was released, for on examining his papers and baggage, nothing could be found to implicate him, because he never then kept, as he told me, anything like a manuscript trusting all to his memory, which I knew to be great. It was hardly possible to find a man more completely suited to such a mission. His wonderful sobriety and temperance at table being almost to excess and without example.

"In Europe, I believe, he was engaged chiefly in the Quarter Master Department, where, from his great aptitude for detail and minutiae he must have been valuable. Had we have employed him in that line he might have been of great service, for we frequently felt many inconveniences and suffered much from our ill-judged arrangement and want of foresight.

"Besides his extreme temperance, sobriety and prudence, with his great simplicity of manners which highly fitted him for his undertaking, he had also many of the other qualifications for a soldier, such as patience, long suffering, strength of constitution, endurance of hunger and thirst, and a cheerful submission to every inconvenience in lodging, for I have known him, repeatedly, to arrange his portmanteau as a pillow, and wrapping his great horseman's cloak around him stretch himself before the fire and take as comfortable a nap as if upon a bed of eider down. He would rise before day, light his candles and work till nine, then take a slice of dry bread with a glass of water, and go to work again until about twelve or one, when he would ride to Head Quarters, pick up the news of the day, and return to dinner. This meal consisted of a little soup and a shin of beef, or of a dry tasteless round, with his favorite beverage, water. After this he would go to work again, and so continue until dark, when without using his candle he would get to bed, that he might rise at the earliest hour in the morning. This was his mode of life generally, whilst we were at the Valley Forge, where we all suffered not a little.

"In size, he was a perfect Ariovistus, being upwards of six feet, and fully equal to the fatigues of a soldier. He would often walk twenty or thirty miles a day without sigh, or complaint, and indeed, often preferred

that exercise, to riding. His complexion and skin were remarkable, being as fair and fresh, as those of a youth.

“The observations and information of so judicious a person as Baron de Kalb, would help much to open our eyes to the conduct of the French Court, during our contest, particularly, during the early part of it, for, it was incomprehensible to us and to the world in general, why the French should be so long timidly hesitating, whether they should take an unequivocal part in our favor, when, apparently, there never was so good an opportunity offered to a rival nation, to injure an opponent, so eternally and deadly hostile.”



Maryland Historical Society.



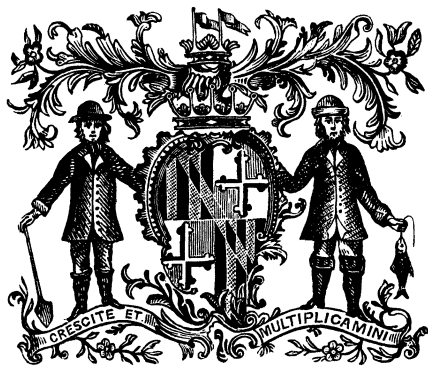
ANNUAL REPORT,

1858.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.



ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
*Maryland Historical Society,*  
WITH THE  
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS;  
1858.



PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,  
BY JOHN MURPHY AND COMPANY,  
MARBLE BUILDING, 182 BALTIMORE STREET,  
BALTIMORE.



# LIST OF OFFICERS.

---

PRESIDENT.

JOHN SPEAR SMITH.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Rev. EDWIN A. DALRYMPLE, D. D.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

SEBASTIAN F. STREETER.

TREASURER.

JOHN HANAN.

LIBRARIAN.

LEWIS H. STEINER, M. D.

COMMITTEE ON HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

JAMES GEORGE. J. D. PRATT. MENDES I. COHEN.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

JOHN HANAN. WILLIAM MCKIM. ENOCH PRATT.

TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENÆUM.

JOHNS HOPKINS. WILLIAM MCKIM. WILLIAM E. MAYHEW.

COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT.

ROBERT LESLIE.

S. F. STREETER.

J. SAURIN NORRIS.

CAMILLUS KIDDER.

LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Rev. G. W. BURNAP, D.D.

E. R. HARNEY.

GEO. WM. BROWN.

J. I. COHEN, M. D.

J. J. THOMSEN.

L. H. STEINER, M.D.

WILLIAM F. GILES.

THOS. D. BAIRD.

GEO. A. WARDER.

GEORGE M. GILL.

S. F. STREETER.

M. COURTNEY JENKINS.

COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY.

J. H. B. LATROBE.

S. W. SMITH.

ALONZO LILLY.

S. K. GEORGE.

ENOCH PRATT.



REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
AT THE  
Annual Meeting in February, 1858.

---

GENTLEMEN:

Since my last report, very material changes have been made in the condition of the Society. It affords me the sincerest pleasure to say, that these changes have been for the better, and that our future is full of gladdening promise. The efforts to attain so elevated a degree of prosperity, have been zealous and untiring. No institution has been more steady in its onward progress, or, with means so limited, more successful in accomplishing the ends for which it was formed. At first, its continuance was so much of a problem, that some expressed the belief it would prove as short lived as many similar enterprises here, and in other quarters of the Union. But, the vigilant economy, uninterrupted harmony, and devotion to its best interests, which have, at all times, attended your councils, have averted any calamity which might otherwise have overwhelmed us. And now, it may be fairly admitted, that so far as any human institution is beyond the chance of extinction, this Society enjoys that enviable condition.

Some few years since, a plan was matured, and adopted, for the creation of an endowment fund. Its main object was, to shield us from those casualties, which threaten all associations depending for their maintenance, on voluntary

contributions. The means for the creation of this fund, were, the investment of our annual surplusses, bequests, and donations. These surplusses have been judiciously invested by your Committee of Finance, and are now yielding an income. This sound policy, it is trusted, will be continued; as it not only secures our independence, but inspires a useful confidence in our prudence. We have not yet been favored with any bequest, nor has the contemplated design of obtaining donations been resorted to. It would, however, have been attempted, and, as is believed, successfully, but for the proposed transfer to us, of the rights and property of the Baltimore Library Company. The expediency of our acceding to this transfer was greatly doubted, and led to much discussion and negotiation. These doubts arose, not that such an acquisition was not duly appreciated, but from the apprehension, that our pecuniary ability was unequal to the sustenance of both establishments. This objection yielded in the end, to the pledge given by gentlemen of influence, to raise a sum, the interest on which would render us secure from embarrassment. The transfer was then consummated. This engagement to collect the large amount deemed necessary, put an end to the more humble contributions projected for the endowment fund. The gentlemen to whom allusion has been made, had not only devised the appropriate arrangements, but had already begun to solicit the donations they had promised, when their progress was stayed by circumstances, to which it may not be proper to advert at this time. From the foregoing, it will be seen that no donations were made, either to the endowment fund, or to the greater one, which was to relieve us from the pressure of the Baltimore Library Company's expenses, assumed by us.

About this time, unusually large additions were fortunately made to our roll of members. They were greater than at any anterior period, and have gone on, until the list has swollen to five hundred names. This increase has enabled us to meet the additional claims we had to assume,



with the transfer to us of the Library Company, and its consequent responsibilities. The apprehended difficulty was thus overcome, whilst our resources have throughout, been adequate to the ordinary demands on them.

The transfer of the Library Company added some eleven thousand volumes to our catalogues, and among them, numerous rare and choice works, some of which are of the highest value. The united libraries now contain over fifteen thousand volumes. These are annually added to, by donations from individuals, the Federal Government, States, and corresponding societies. These various donations have, at no time, been intermitted, but have always maintained an equable course, from the outset of the Society. Occasional purchases have likewise, added various historical and scientific productions to the collection.

The gallery of paintings is now nearly full, and presents a beautiful collection, every way attractive. Our own possessions constitute but a small part of the whole, the larger portion being deposited with us by individuals. This will enable the Committee on the Gallery, to have an exhibition with great ease, and at a trifling expense, during the next autumn. For the present, the gallery is open to the members of the Society, and their families. In fulfilment of one of its original purposes, its use has been tendered to the School of Design of the Maryland Institute. The pupils will be in attendance from ten to two o'clock, under the inspection of a teacher, and of our assistant librarian, so as to effectually prevent injury to either the paintings or statuary. It is gratifying to know that we are thus enlarging our sphere of usefulness. It must not be omitted, that many fine portraits of revolutionary, and other worthies, have been added to those which had been heretofore selected with so much care. The noble paintings of the "Communion of St. Jerome," by Domenichino, and the "Martyrdom of Peter the Dominican," by Titian, have been framed, and occupy their places in the Gallery.

Another purpose of the Society is now in successful ope-

ration, in the department of Natural History. It has been allotted to a committee of seven members, who have provided appropriate receptacles for the various specimens, and who are in the diligent discharge of their laborious task. In a short time, all the minerals will be labeled and arranged, and with the science now brought to bear on this branch of our duties, it has every promise of being highly creditable to the Society.

To add as many attractions as possible to the institution, a chess room, for its members, is in daily use. In another apartment, most of the periodical works, with some daily gazettes, are provided, where every comfort is extended to those of the members who choose to make it a resort. All the rooms are thrown open during the day, and on every Monday night, the library is lighted up, and kept open until ten. Besides the usual monthly meetings of the Society, a *soirée* is held once in each month. These reunions have met with great approbation, and seem to be very generally acceptable. They tend to keep up a kindly feeling among our associates, and to promote that gentlemanly intercourse, which has been so mainly instrumental in promoting our success.

The attention of Congress has been invited by the Society to the preservation of such medals as have been, or may hereafter be stricken off, in commemoration of signal national events, or of individuals, who, by their deeds, may be entitled to such honors. The application has received the promptest attention from our Senators and Representatives. It has been referred to the Joint Committee on the Library, and there is good reason to believe that a favorable report will be made, and a consequent issue, which will effectuate the very proper, as well as desirable intents of the Society. It is believed also, that other institutions throughout the country will unite in furthering the patriotic design.

You are aware, that from our entrance into this edifice, a sum of money was laid aside, in each year, for its repairs,

and for its renovation, at the necessary time. That period had arrived, and the Council of Government of the Athénæum, during the last summer, had the whole of it thoroughly renewed. It is now in as good condition as when we received it from the builders, no exertions having been omitted, to have the work executed in the most perfect manner. The gentlemen of the Council gave their personal attention, and supervision to all the various parts of the repairs.

At the instance of the Society, the Legislature of the State has enacted a law, in which provision is made, for obtaining copies of certain manuscripts, relating to the Colonial History of Maryland. Some of these documents are in the College de Propaganda Fide, at Rome, and I am happy to add that, Mr. Jno. H. Alexander, one of our members, has been appointed by his Excellency the Governor, for the execution of the duty. To aid him in its discharge, the Most Reverend Archbishop Kenrick has courteously addressed a letter to the Prefect of the College, commending Mr. Alexander to his good offices. There can be no doubt therefore, that thus fortified, Mr. Alexander will meet with the desired success.

I would again, most respectfully call the attention of members to the preparation of Essays, to be read before the Society. These productions are often of much interest, whilst they, at the same time, fulfil a not unimportant part of the duties contemplated in your by-laws, and keep alive the spirit of the association. I deem them of high importance, and when regretting that so few have been presented, during the past year, will cherish the hope that more of diligence will characterize the one on which we are now entering.

At the end of fourteen years of our existence as a Society, we find ourselves in a useful and successful progress, our Books, Maps, Manuscripts, Paintings, Statuary, and objects of Natural History have steadily increased. For research into our archives, not only the members, but the

public can, and do have recourse. Our receipts invariably meet our expenditures, and, when the annual collections are completed by the Treasurer, an investment is always punctually made of the excess. It is not too much, then, to say, that we are in a state of matured strength; that our prosperity is advancing; and that we are perfectly independent. For this, the fruit of your labors, and devotion to the conservation of our well-being, allow me to proffer my sincere congratulations.

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

### MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

---

#### ARTICLE I.

THIS Society shall be styled the "MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY." Its object shall be to collect, preserve, and diffuse information relating to the Civil, Natural, and Literary History of the State of Maryland, and American History and Biography generally.

#### ARTICLE II.

This Society shall consist of Active, Corresponding, and Honorary Members.

ACTIVE MEMBERS shall consist of citizens of the State, residing in Baltimore, or within fifteen miles thereof.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS shall consist of citizens of the State residing elsewhere therein; and also of persons residing in other States.

HONORARY MEMBERS shall consist of persons distinguished for their literary or scientific attainments,—particularly in the department of History—throughout the world.

#### ARTICLE III.

The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, Vice President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secre-

tary, Treasurer and Librarian, who shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting of the Society, from the class defined in Art. II. as Active members. Should a vacancy occur in any of these offices, by death, resignation, removal or otherwise, it may be filled up by ballot of the members present at the monthly meetings provided for in the next article.

#### ARTICLE IV.

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of February, and meetings shall be held for the ordinary transactions and purposes of the Society on the first Thursday of every month.

At the annual meetings, the officers of the Society shall be elected by ballot; and, at the monthly meetings new members shall be proposed and voted for.

In order to become an Active or Corresponding member of this Society, the name of the party applying or proposed therefor, must be given in writing, to the Recording Secretary at the meeting previous to the one on which he is to be balloted for, and three negative votes shall exclude the candidate from membership.

In order to become an Honorary member of the Society, the name of the party must be proposed to the Society, at a regular meeting, by a committee of three on honorary membership, to be elected annually, at the period of the election of the Society's officers.

All Active members shall pay on admission, the sum of five dollars, and a subsequent annual contribution of five dollars. And no one shall be deemed an active member, or receive a diploma, until he has signed the register of members, or accepted his appointment as member in writing.

The President, or in his absence, the Vice President, or Secretary, shall have the power to call special meetings, on the requisition of five active members; and the object of the meeting shall be stated by the Secretary in his advertisement.

The quorum for a special meeting shall consist of at least twenty members.

#### ARTICLE V.

The citizens of each County in the State of Maryland, who are Corresponding members of this Society, are authorised and empowered to form within each of their respective Counties, a Chapter of this Society, the President of which Chapter, elected by the county members, shall be *ex-officio* a Vice President of the Maryland Historical Society.

It shall be the duty of these Chapters to meet at least once a month, at such times and places within their respective counties as they may see proper to appoint.

At these meetings, essays, local historical accounts, memoirs on the natural history of the county, or documents of interest to the State generally, may be presented, or prepared; all of which shall be forwarded to the Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society, by the President of the Chapter, together with all other collections relative to the civil, natural, or literary history of the State, in order that they may be preserved in the archives and cabinets of the Institution.

#### ARTICLE VI.

For the establishment and support of the Gallery of Fine Arts, which the Society is empowered to form, by virtue of the Act of the General Assembly of Maryland, passed 6th of March, 1845, chapter 198,—the proceeds of all exhibitions, whether annual or other, in the Gallery of Fine Arts, shall be pledged and set apart specifically, for the collection, increase, and preservation of paintings, drawings, sculpture, and works of Fine Art generally, to be expended under the direction of a committee, to be called "THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY," and who shall report their proceedings to the Society at its stated meetings.

## ARTICLE VII.

The proceeds of the annual subscriptions to the Maryland Historical Society, after the payment of the necessary expenses of the Institution, shall be set apart for the increase of the Library, Historical Collections, and Publications; and shall, on no occasion, be applied to the use of the Gallery of Fine Arts.

## ARTICLE VIII.

This Constitution may be amended from time to time, as the Society shall deem proper; but a motion for an amendment shall not be received unless a notice thereof shall have been given and entered on the journals of the Society at the last preceding meeting.



# BY-LAWS

## OF THE

### MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

---

#### I.

THE President, or in his absence, the highest officer present, shall preside at all meetings of this Society. Seven members of the Society shall constitute a quorum, at the monthly meeting; and, at the annual meeting, those of the members who are present, shall constitute a quorum.

The duty of the President, or presiding officer, shall be to preserve order, regulate the order of proceedings, and give the casting vote when required.

#### II.

The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all the correspondence of the Society;—he shall preserve the originals of all communications addressed to the Society, and keep a fair copy of all his letters in books.

It shall moreover be his duty to read to the Society the correspondence which he has sustained since the previous meeting.

He shall likewise present all the documents, essays, collections or contributions, of whatever nature, that he has received since the last meeting from the President of the several Chapters of this Society, or from other sources.

## III.

The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of this Society, and, at the opening of each of them, shall read those of the preceding; he shall have the custody of the constitution, by-laws and records; shall give due notice of the time and place of all the Society's meetings; and he shall keep, in books, a neat and accurate record of all the orders and proceedings of the Society.

## IV.

The Treasurer shall receive, and keep deposited in bank, to the credit of the Society, all donations and bequests of money, and all other sums belonging to the Society. He shall pay all such sums as may be due by the Society, by checks, countersigned by the President, or some member authorized in writing by the President to act in his absence. He shall keep a faithful account of all moneys received and paid by him, and, once in every year, render a particular statement of the same to the Society, which shall appoint a committee of three members to audit and report on his accounts to the annual meeting.

## V.

The Librarian shall preserve, arrange, and keep in good order, all books, MSS., documents, pamphlets, papers and contributions of every kind to the library or cabinet of the Society. He shall keep a catalogue of the same, and take especial care that no books, MSS., documents, papers, or any property of the Society, pertaining to the library and cabinet, confided to his keeping, be, under any pretext, or by the permission or authority of any officer, removed or taken from the Society's rooms. He shall be furnished with a book in which to record all donations and bequests of whatever nature, relating to his department, with the name of the donor and the time when bestowed. He shall carefully number the books, MSS., and collections, and mark them with the title of this Society, and the name of the donor or depositor.

A committee of twelve, on the library, shall be appointed by ballot, at the annual meeting, to serve until the election of their successors, and shall have the supervisory care of all publications by the Society, under the provisions of the 1st Art. of the Constitution. They shall, with the Librarian, provide suitable shelves, cases and fixtures, by which to arrange and display the books, manuscripts, and collections of the Society. They shall have power to elect an Assistant Librarian, to fix his compensation, subject to the approbation of the Society, to dismiss him and elect another in his place, in their discretion; to establish a Reading Room when the Society shall deem it practicable and expedient so to do, to regulate the hours during which the Library and Reading Room shall be kept open, to establish rules and regulations for the government and management of the Library and Reading Room, to appropriate for the purchase of books and other necessary expenses of the Library and Reading Room such funds as may be placed at their disposal for such purposes; to prepare and print a complete catalogue of the Library and Collections of the Society, when the Society may deem it expedient so to do, and generally to take charge of, and control the Library and Reading Room and Collections of the Society, except such as consist of works of art, and are placed under the charge of the COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY; said library committee shall make a report quarter yearly of its proceedings to the Society.

The Librarian shall keep a "Pamphlet catalogue" on which to enter each pamphlet when received, under its appropriate class; and to affix on the title page a number in the regular sequence of its reception.

Pamphlets shall be classified according to subjects—not alphabetically.

MSS. shall be kept by the Librarian in port-folios, and catalogued with proper references to their subjects.

All purchases of Books and Manuscripts shall be made only by the Library committee, with the sanction of the President and Treasurer.

No maps, manuscripts, drawings, engravings, or works of art, shall be loaned to any person to be taken from the rooms of the Society.

The President, Vice President, and Library committee may exercise a sound discretion in refusing to authorize the loan of any books, which, by reason of their value, rarity, or any other cause, they may deem unsuitable to be loaned to be taken from the rooms of the Society. And if the loan of any book shall be refused by the President, Vice President, or any member of the Library committee, such refusal shall be final, unless such loan shall be subsequently sanctioned by a majority of the persons filling the offices of President, Vice President, and Library committee for the time being. Neither shall any books *deposited* with the Historical Society, but not the property thereof, be loaned to any person.

#### VII.

The Society shall select by ballot, at the sixth monthly meeting antecedent to the annual meeting, one of its Active or Corresponding members, who shall be requested by the President to deliver a Historical Discourse at said annual meeting. And at the same time the Society shall appoint such other exercises to accompany the delivery of the annual discourse as shall be appropriate to the occasion.

#### VIII.

No books, MSS., or property of the Society shall be, at any time, lent to any person, to be removed from the Society's rooms.

#### IX.

Any failure on the part of a member, after due notice for six months by the Treasurer, to pay his annual dues, shall be considered a forfeiture of membership, and no person who has thus lost his membership shall be re-admitted without the strict payment of all arrears.

## X.

All vacancies in committees by death, resignation, or otherwise, shall be filled by the other members of the committee.

## XI.

In the event of the dissolution of the Maryland Historical Society, at any period, the books, collections, documents, and all objects of interest presented to or deposited with the Society, shall be returned to the original owners or depositors, or to their representatives. And if neither owners, depositors, nor representatives are to be found, then the said books, documents, or objects, shall be presented to some scientific or literary institution. And further, that the Librarian shall cause a label to be engraved, which shall be placed in every book, document, or other object belonging to the Society, upon which it shall be his duty to write the name of the owner or depositor.

## XII.

There shall be annually chosen, by ballot, at the period of the election of officers, three Trustees of the ATHENÆUM, conformably to the provisions of its charter, granted by the Legislature of Maryland.

## XIII.

There shall annually be chosen by ballot, at the period of the election of officers, a COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY, consisting of five members, whose duty it shall be to take charge of the Gallery of Art belonging to the Society, to conduct its management, exhibitions, &c., &c., and to report from time to time, at the regular monthly meetings of the Society.

## XIV.

There shall annually be chosen by ballot, at the period of the election of officers, a COMMITTEE OF FINANCE, consisting of three members, of which the Treasurer shall be one, whose duty it shall be to make permanent investments of all surplusses in the Treasury, bequests, and donations to the Society.

## XV.

There shall annually be appointed by the President, at the meeting next after the annual election, a committee, to be styled the COMMITTEE ON NATURAL HISTORY, whose duty it shall be to superintend the collection and arrangement of specimens illustrating the Natural History of the State of Maryland, in particular, and of our country generally, and who shall have the power of appointing sub-committees composed of one or more members—either Active, Corresponding, or Honorary—to act as collaborators in the performance of their duties. At least once in every quarter, a report shall be handed to the Society exhibiting the condition and wants of the department.

## XVI.

All papers, either original or translated, read before the Society by members thereof, shall be the property of the Society, and no papers or manuscripts belonging to it shall be published, or in any way given to the public, without the consent of the Society.

## XVII.

All motions to print an address, or other paper read before the Society, shall lie over to the meeting next after that, at which it is made, before it shall be in order to take a vote on it.

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

JAMES M. WAYNE.....	<i>Savannah, Georgia.</i>
J. K. TEFFT.....	“ “
GEORGE FOLSOM.....	<i>New York.</i>
CHARLES WILKES, U. S. N.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
GEORGE BANCROFT.....	<i>New York.</i>
WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
EDWARD EVERETT.....	“ “
JARED SPARKS.....	<i>Cambridge, “</i>
BENJAMIN SILLIMAN.....	<i>New Haven, Connecticut.</i>
DAVID HOFFMAN.....	<i>London, England (deceased).</i>
J. R. BARTLETT.....	<i>New York.</i>
JAMES RENWICK.....	“ “
PROF. RAFN.....	<i>Copenhagen, Denmark.</i>
GEORGE S. HILLIARD.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
DAVID RIDGELY.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
J. S. STEPHENS.....	<i>New York.</i>
BARON FREDERICK VON RAUMER...	<i>Berlin, Prussia.</i>
LEWIS CASS.....	<i>Detroit, Michigan.</i>
WASHINGTON IRVING.....	<i>New York.</i>
ROBERT WALSH.....	<i>Maryland.</i>
J. R. POINSETT.....	<i>Charleston, S. C. (deceased).</i>
J. MCP. BERRIEN.....	<i>Georgia, (deceased).</i>
W. GILMOR SIMMS.....	<i>Charleston, South Carolina.</i>
M. CHAMPOLLION FIGEAC.....	<i>Paris.</i>
COUNT LEON DE LA BORDE.....	“
GULIAN C. VERPLANCK.....	<i>New York.</i>
ALEXANDER VATEMARE.....	<i>Paris.</i>
PETER FORCE.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
REV. DR. RYDER.....	<i>Georgetown, “</i>
PROF. JOSEPH HENRY.....	<i>Washington, “</i>
PEDRO DE ANGELIS.....	<i>Montevideo, South America.</i>
ROBERT C. WINTHROP.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
SIR HENRY LYTTON BULWER..	<i>England.</i>
A. CALDERON DE LA BARCA.....	<i>Spain.</i>
JAMES M. GILLIS, U. S. N.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
THOMAS H. BENTON.....	<i>Missouri.</i>
THOMAS CORWIN.....	<i>Ohio.</i>
ALEXANDER H. H. STUART.....	<i>Virginia.</i>
GEORGE TICKNOR.....	<i>Massachusetts.</i>

GEORGE PEABODY.....	<i>London, England.</i>
SIR EDWARD BULWER LYTTON.....	<i>England.</i>
MARTIN FARQUHAR TUPPER.....	"
CONWAY ROBINSON.....	<i>Richmond, Virginia.</i>
MILLARD FILLMORE.....	<i>Buffalo, New York.</i>
THOMAS SULLY.....	<i>Philadelphia.</i>
JUAN N. ALMONTE.....	<i>Mexico.</i>
WILLIAM RODEWALD.....	<i>Bremen.</i>
PROF. GEORGE TUCKER.....	<i>Philadelphia.</i>

---

## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Col. Jose Arenales.....	<i>Buenos Ayres.</i>
J. Mora Moss.....	" "
John R. Baltzell.....	<i>Frederick, Maryland.</i>
James McSherry.....	" "
Thomas G. Pratt.....	<i>Annapolis, Maryland.</i>
William F. Lynch, U. S. N.....	<i>Baltimore County, Maryland.</i>
James Alfred Pearce.....	<i>Kent County, Maryland.</i>
Wills DeHass.....	<i>Wheeling, Virginia.</i>
Anthony Kimmel.....	<i>Frederick County, Maryland.</i>
Lieut. Col. Dixon, U. S. A.....	<i>Maryland.</i>
Maj. Gen. Nathan Towson.....	" ( <i>deceased</i> ).
William B. Buchanan.....	<i>Wheeling, Virginia (dece'd).</i>
William McCarty.....	<i>Sunbury, Pennsylvania.</i>
John B. Kerr.....	<i>Easton, Maryland.</i>
Joseph C. G. Kennedy.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
N. B. Shurtleff.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
Edward D. Ingraham.....	<i>Philadelphia, (deceased).</i>
Nicholas H. Wise.....	<i>San Francisco, California.</i>
J. Romeyn Brodhead.....	<i>New York.</i>
Edward Armstrong.....	<i>Philadelphia.</i>
Job R. Tyson.....	"
John H. Rauch.....	<i>Iowa.</i>
George W. Curtis.....	<i>New York.</i>
Frederick Kidder.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
Samuel G. Drake.....	" "
George W. Brown.....	<i>Ellsworth, Maine.</i>
Lieut. William Gibson, U. S. N.....	
Josiah Curtis.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
Peregrine Wroth.....	<i>Kent County, Maryland.</i>
Gen. Tench Tilghman.....	<i>Talbot County, Maryland.</i>
Alexander Evans.....	<i>Cecil County, Maryland.</i>



James Lowry Donaldson, U. S. A.....	<i>Baltimore, Maryland.</i>
James Lenox.....	<i>New York.</i>
Rev. Robert Davidson.....	<i>Brunswick, New Jersey.</i>
Ephraim M. Wright.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
Isaac E. Heisler.....	<i>Lancaster, Pennsylvania.</i>
James G. M. Ramsey.....	<i>Knox County, Tennessee.</i>
Samuel W. Thayer.....	<i>Burlington, Vermont.</i>
Thomas Bragg.....	<i>Jackson, North Carolina.</i>
John G. Shea.....	<i>New York.</i>
Samuel Tyler.....	<i>Frederick, Maryland.</i>
Charles S. Parran.....	<i>Calvert County, Maryland.</i>
William J. Ross.....	<i>Frederick, Maryland.</i>
James Spear Loring.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
Horatio R. Riddle.....	<i>New York.</i>
John Sharples.....	<i>Philadelphia.</i>
Henry Dutton.....	<i>New Haven, Connecticut.</i>
Charles J. Bushnell.....	<i>New York.</i>
E. B. O'Callaghan.....	“ “
Prof. E. Foreman.....	<i>Washington, D. C</i>
R. C. Mackall.....	<i>Calvert County, Maryland.</i>
Edward W. Belt.....	<i>Prince George's Co., Md.</i>
E. Norman Leslie.....	<i>Skeneateles, New York.</i>
William S. Hart.....	<i>Hurtville, New York.</i>
Chandler E. Potter.....	<i>Manchester, New Hampshire.</i>
George Wood.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
William Rich.....	“ “
Edward Kidder.....	<i>Wilmington, North Carolina.</i>
George C. Swallow.....	<i>Colombia, Missouri.</i>
Florence O'Donnoghue.....	<i>Prince George's Co., Md.</i>
James Banks.....	<i>Fayetteville, North Carolina.</i>
Edmund Flagg.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
J. Dixon Roman.....	<i>Hagerstown, Maryland.</i>
Rev. John B. Kerfoot.....	“ “
John J. Maxwell.....	<i>New York.</i>
John A. Warder.....	<i>Cincinnati, Ohio.</i>
George S. Bryan.....	<i>Charleston, South Carolina.</i>
Josiah F. Polk.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee.....	<i>Cambridge, Massachusetts.</i>
Rev. Baron Stow.....	<i>Boston, “</i>
Christopher C. Cox.....	<i>Easton, Maryland.</i>
Prof. Samuel S. Haldeman.....	<i>Columbia, Pennsylvania.</i>
Frederick DeWitt.....	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Charles Campbell.....	<i>Virginia.</i>
Plowden C. J. Weston.....	<i>South Carolina.</i>

## ACTIVE MEMBERS.

George W. Andrews,	William J. Albert,	George J. Appold,
William S. Appleton,	Joseph T. Atkinson,	R. Snowden Andrews,
R. H. Atwell,	Jno. A. Armstrong,	John H. Alexander,
Theodore R. Appold,	Augustus J. Albert,	John Armstrong,
Thomas W. Atkinson,	James W. Allnutt,	Rev. Ethan Allen.
Samuel Appold.		
James M. Buchanan,	J. C. Baugher,	Zenus Barnum,
George Brown,	James H. Bevans,	Riggen Buckler, M.D.
Geo. Wm. Brown,	John J. Baltzell,	Alexander E. Brown,
F. W. Brune,	George W. Byrd,	Robert T. Baldwin,
F. W. Brune, Jr.	Francis X. Brenan,	Lewis A. Birely,
John C. Brune,	William Brown,	Charles Bulling,
William H. Brune,	Emanuel Baltzell,	Richard J. Baker,
John Buckler, M.D.	Llewellyn F. Barry,	Nathan Brinton,
T. H. Buckler, M.D.	John W. Ball,	William Bose,
Robert P. Brown,	James W. Bryan,	Charles J. Baker,
Robert D. Brown,	Charles E. Beatty,	Rev. L.P.W. Balch, D.D.
Charles Bradenbaugh,	Thomas M. Brown,	William Bridges,
Nathan C. Brooks,	Rev. N. C. Burt,	Henry M. Bash,
Rev. J. C. Backus, D.D.	William Brogden, Jr.	Samuel Burns,
James Bordley, M.D.	M. Dulany Ball,	William F. Burns,
Rev. G. W. Burnap, D.D.	Jerome N. Bonaparte,	Thomas D. Baird,
Aug. W. Bradford,	William Buckler,	Charles T. Boehm.
Robert C. Barry,	John Brooks,	
George S. Brown,	Lawrence P. Bayne,	
George B. Coale,	Thomas Corner,	Wm. Q. Caldwell,
E. S. Courtney,	A. Fuller Crane,	William C. Conine,
James C. Coale,	Joshua I. Cohen, M.D.	Joseph Cockey, M.D.
C. O. Cone, M.D.	Charles H. Clarke,	H. K. Cooley,
J. Paul Cockey, M.D.	Richard H. Conway,	Benjamin Crane,
Charles R. Carroll,	Israel Cohen,	John Creagh,
Allen A. Chapman,	J. Mason Campbell,	Rev. A. C. Coxe,
Francis A. Crook,	H. D. G. Carroll,	Hugh A. Cooper,
William B. Canfield,	James Carroll,	Wilson C. N. Carr,
Ira Canfield,	Samuel Chew, M.D.	Isaac Cole,
Mendes I. Cohen,	Ashur Clarke,	Galloway Cheston,
Joseph Cushing,	J. I. Cohen, Jr.	E. P. Cohen,
James Cortlan, Jr.	David Creamer,	Fred. E. Chatard, M.D.
John Cushing,		

John I. Donaldson,	Henry Winter Davis,	Thomas DeFord,
Samuel J. Donaldson,	Charles H. Dupuy,	John Duer,
Thomas Donaldson,	Isaac DeFord,	W. F. Dalrymple,
Jacob R. Drége,	Rev. E. A. Dalrymple,	Henry W. Drakely,
J. R. W. Dunbar, M.D.	B. DeFord, [D.D.	John H. Duvall,
W. H. Diffenderfer,	George W. Dobbin,	Wm. Y. DeFord,
George L. L. Davis,	Adam Denmead,	Rev. P. Seibert Davis.
James Ellicott,	John Eastman,	John Egerton.
C. J. M. Eaton,		
W. Frederick Frick,	William C. France,	Lyman Fulton,
John Fonerden, M.D.	George Frick, M.D.	Charles Findley,
Robert Fulton, M.D.	James J. Fisher,	Richard France,
Andrew Flanagan,	Rev. R. Fuller, D.D.	Jeremiah Fisher,
Robert A. Fisher,	Charles Ferguson,	Moor N. Falls.
B. A. Franklin,		
Wm. H. Gatchell,	John P. Gunn, M.D.	Walter Gwynn, Jr.
John M. Gordon,	James George,	George Gibson,
J. J. Graves, M.D.	William H. Graham,	G. S. Gibson, Jr. M. D.
Alexander B. Gordon,	Hugh Gelston,	William H. Griffith,
Charles J. M. Gwinn,	William F. Giles,	Henry Garrett,
Samuel K. George,	Charles Gilman,	James Getty,
George M. Gill,	William W. Glenn,	John Gregg,
Geo. S. Gibson, M.D.	Rev. S. R. Gordon,	Herman H. Graué,
Edward M. Greenway,	Judson Gilman, M.D.	Charles A. Grinnell,
Levin Gale,	John Garrett,	L. Howard Golder.
J. Morrison Harris,	Samuel O. Hoffman,	E. R. Harney,
James Hall, M.D.	Alexander H. Hobbs,	Samuel Hinks,
Johns Hopkins,	Edmund A. Harrison,	Rev. R. C. Hall,
Robert Hall,	Sidney G. Hand,	W. Taylor Hall,
William G. Harrison,	Edward O. Hinkley,	Matthew Howe,
Robert S. Hollins,	Charles D. Hinks,	John A. Hambleton,
John Hanan,	George W. Herring,	John Hurst,
Samuel Hurlbut,	Robert W. Hyman,	J. S. Hubbel,
Henry R. Hazelhurst,	John Eager Howard,	Geo. R. Hyland,
William Harrison.	William Key Howard,	B. M. Heighe,
C. D. Hollins,	Edward Holloway,	Rev. W. Hamilton, D.D.
Jacob W. Houck, M.D.		
	George C. Irwin.	
M. Courtney Jenkins,	Henry F. Jackson,	Kensley Johns,
Austin Jenkins,	J. Stricker Jenkins,	Henry E. Johnson,
Hugh Jenkins,	Hugh Jenkins, Jr.	Rev. W. E. Johnson.
C. C. Jamison,	Alfred Jenkins,	

John P. Kennedy, J. T. Keys, Robert R. Kirkland, Anthony Kennedy, Camillus Kidder,	William Geo. Krebs, W. M. Kemp, M. D. Joseph King, Jr. Martin J. Kerney, Adam B. Kyle,	Michael J. Kelly, Edward M. Keith, Edward D. Kemp, David Keener, M. D.
J. H. B. Latrobe, Benjamin H. Latrobe, Z. Collins Lee, Robert Leslie, Martin Lewis, Randolph B. Latimer, J. C. Legrand, Stephen S. Lee, J. H. Luckett,	Francis B. Loney, B. Rush Llloyd, Edward Laroque, John Lester, Alonzo Lilly, Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Robert Lawson, W. Penn Lewis, Charles W. Lentz,	Robert Lemmon, P. R. Lovejoy, G. W. Lurman, Richard Lemmon, Alexander Lorman, G. W. Lawrence, M.D. Osman Latrobe, Ellis B. Long, Edmund G. Lind.
Brantz Mayer, Charles F. Mayer, James H. McHenry, Ramsay McHenry, William McKim, Haslett McKim, Robert M. McLane, Jno. V. L. McMahon, John B. Morris, John Murphy, Wm. E. Mayhew, Jonathan Meredith, Leonard Mackall, M.D. Henry Mankin, Joseph C. Manning, Robert Mickie, Wm. M. Medcalfe,	G. W. Miltenberger, Wm. Morrison, [M.D. Rev. J. G. Morris, D.D. Chas. F. Mayer of L. M. W. Merryman, M.D. Joseph H. Meredith, J. McKew, M.D. Francis V. Moale, Chas. C. McTavish, Francis B. Mayer, Augustus Mathiot, Thomas Mackenzie, John F. McJilton, Cosmo T. Mackenzie, W. L. Montague, Jr. J. H. McCulloch, M.D. Wm. F. Murdoch,	Nath. H. Morrison, George N. Moale, George Morrison, Diedrick Meier, Ed. P. Morong, M.D. Campbell Morfit, M.D. Edgar G. Miller, R. H. Mitchell, J. Thomas Morris, H. D. Mears, Rev. John C. McCabe, James H. Millikin, Robert McKim, Robert McDowell, D. H. Miller, D. P. Montague.
J. Spear Nicholas, George Nielson, J. C. Nielson, John Saurin Norris,	John R. Niernsie, J. Mason Nicholson, George W. Norris, W. H. Norris,	Albert Nunez, C. Sidney Norris, Charles G. Nicholson.
William H. Owens, C. Oliver O'Donnell,	Samuel B. Owings, C. O'Donovan, M.D.	John M. Orem.
Charles H. Pitts, Robert Purviance, Robert Purviance, Jr. Enoch Pratt, James R. Patridge, William A. Poor,	William B. Perine, John G. Proud, Benj. C. Presstman, Nelson Poe, John F. Pickerell, J. Hall Pleasants,	Jabez D. Pratt, Edwin L. Parker, Robert W. Pendleton, A. S. Piggot, M.D. Nicholas G. Penniman, John B. Piet,

Josias Pennington,	R. F. Pinckney, U. S. N.	Henry Pendexter,
James Polk,	Albert Perry,	Nicholas Popplein,
Joseph W. Patterson,	Wm. H. Perkins,	James F. Purvis, Jr.
David M. Perine,	Thomas S. Plummer,	John R. Prentiss, M.D.
Oliver A. Parker,	George U. Porter,	Simon Parkhurst.

Lloyd N. Rogers,	S. S. Richardson, M.D.	Francis L. Reed,
Joseph Robinson,	A. C. Robinson, M.D.	William Riley, M.D.
Joseph Reynolds,	A. M. Rogers,	Joseph Rogers, Jr.
William Reynolds,	William G. Read,	Henry G. Rice,
Andrew Reid,	H. J. Rogers,	Andrew Reese.
Charles Reese,	Andrew S. Ridgely,	

A. Schumacher,	Lewis H. Steiner, M.D.	John Stewart,
William Schley,	Edward Slade,	R. Carter Smith,
Sebastian F. Streeter,	Lawrence Sangston,	George Small,
John Spear Smith,	James H. Stone,	Joseph H. Spence,
Samuel W. Smith,	Henry Stockbridge,	George F. Sloan,
Thomas M. Smith,	George E. Sangston,	John R. Seemuller,
B. R. Spalding,	T. Sappington, M.D.	Wm. W. Spence,
J. H. Stickney,	Jervis Spencer,	John A. Swope,
Robert M. Smith,	Thomas Sewell, Jr.	J. Alexander Shriver,
Thomas Swann,	Archibald Sterling,	Peter G. Sauerwein,
William C. Shaw,	I. Nevitt Steele,	Edward Sterling,
C. A. Shaeffer,	James Swan,	Henry Snowden,
George H. Steuart,	Jas. A. Stewart, M.D.	Richard Sewell.
Nathan R. Smith, M.D.	Hugh Sisson,	Rev. Geo. L. Staley.

St. George W. Teackle,	Luke Tiernan,	Edward Tiffany,
J. Han. Thomas, M.D.	Richard W. Tyson,	Jesse Tyson,
John D. Toy,	J. Jacob Thomsen,	Philip T. Tyson,
Laurence Thomsen,	Thos. M. Tolman,	Philip E. Thomas, Jr.
Isaac Tyson, Jr.	James W. Tyson,	Henry S. Taylor,
Wm. H. Travers,	Charles Tiernan,	Jacob Trust,
Alexander Turnbull,	R. H. Townsend,	Wm. Geo. Tiffany,
Wm. G. Thomas,	Chas. J. R. Thorpe,	Frederick Tyson,
George P. Tiffany,	Nathaniel J. Thayer,	Rev. O. H. Tiffany.
James E. Tyson,		

Philip R. Uhler.

Adalbert J. Volck,	P. G. Van Winkle,	B. F. Voss,
George L. Vickers,	Herman Von Kapff,	W. C. Van Bibber, M.D.

Geo. F. R. Wasche,	Wm. F. Worthington,	J. Alden Weston,
Samuel G. Wyman,	Thomas Wilson,	William Woodville,
David S. Wilson,	Ambrose A. White,	J. O. Wharton, M.D.
James Winchester,	Henry Webster,	Wm. Woodward,

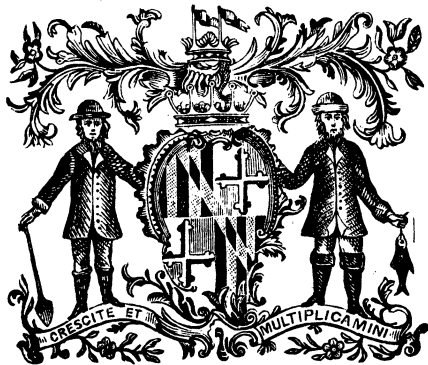
Otho H. Williams,	Nathaniel Williams,	Milton Whitney,
John H. Wyman,	Henry Withington,	Joseph C. Whitney,
George Warner, Jr.,	Augustus Webster,	Wm. J. Waterman,
Thomas Winans,	T. Yates Walsh,	H. J. Werdebaugh,
Thomas H. Williams,	John W. Walker,	R. Clinton Wright,
James H. Wood,	John Whitridge,	W. H. DeC. Wright,
George A. Warder,	John Williams,	H. L. Whitridge,
Hiram Woods,	Wm. T. Walters,	John R. Winslow,
Frank R. Wright, M.D.	Rev. J. C. White,	Wm. C. Wait,
H. Veasy Ward,	Charles W. Webb,	William Wallace,
Rev. S. H. Worcester,	Ed. H. White, M.D.	Wm. C. Wilson,
Rev. Franklin Wilson,	P. C. Williams, M.D.	Thomas Whitridge,
S. Teackle Wallis,	John L. Weeks,	P. M. Womble, M.D.
Chas. E. Wethered,	Wm. S. Waters,	A. Townsend Waugh.
Wm. Wilson, Jr.		

Coleman Yellott.

CATALOGUE  
OF  
Paintings, Engravings,  
&c. &c.  
AT THE  
PICTURE GALLERY  
OF THE  
Maryland Historical Society.

---

SIXTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION,  
1858.



BALTIMORE:  
PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY,  
Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets.

OFFICERS  
OF THE  
**Historical Society of Maryland.**

---

President.

J. SPEAR SMITH.

JOHN P. KENNEDY, VICE-PRESIDENT.

REV. E. A. DALRYMPLE, COR. SEC.

S. F. STREETER, REC. SEC.

J. HANAN, TREASURER.

LEWIS H. STEINER, LIBRARIAN.

Committee on the Gallery.

J. H. B. LATROBE.

S. W. SMITH.

ALONZO LILLY.

ENOCH PRATT.

J. STRICKER JENKINS.



# CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS.



The Pictures marked thus \* are for sale—for prices apply at the door of the Gallery.

Owners of Pictures are requested to correct any errors in the Catalogue.

## DR. EDMONDSON'S PICTURES.

NO.	SUBJECT.	ARTIST.
1	Flower Piece,	Virbringer
2	Dead Rabbit,	English Artist
3	Boy with Eggs,	Piazetti
4	German Artist,	Ernst Fischer
5	Head of an Old Man,	Do.
6	A Peasant Woman—Adoration,	Do.
7	Girl's Head,	Do.
8	Sailor Boy,	Do.
9	Head of John the Baptist,	Unknown
10	Ruins of old Bridge and Harbour,	Al. Miller
11	Garden Scene—Dead Rabbit,	Unknown
12	Portrait of a Lady,	Ernst Fischer
13	Portrait of a Duchess,	Unknown
14	Landscape, Water Fall,	French School
15	Hessian Girl	Schneider
16	Girl arranging Flowers,	Italian School
17	Gathering Flowers—Large,	Do.
18	Shepherdess and Sheep,	Boucher
19	Gentleman at Fireside,	Ernst Fischer
20	Landscape—The Lover,	Unknown
21	The Miniature,	Ernst Fischer
22	Passe par Tout,	Do.
23	Gulnare—Candle Light,	Do.
24	The Golden Wedding,	Ver. Heyden
25	Fruit Piece,	Elder Peale

## CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS.

NO.	SUBJECT.	ARTIST.
26	Portrait Rosalie,	Harley
27	Interior—Sun Light,	Er. Fischer
28	Country Village,	Newell
29	Boy and Puppies,	
30	Dogs and Parrot,	
31	Indian Chief,	Al. Miller
32	The Game of Ten-pins,	Linnig
33	Children—Moonlight,	Er. Fischer
34	Belle of Newport,	Court
35	White Horse,	Newell
36	Madonna, after Murillo,	Er. Fischer
37	Tame Ducks,	Honderkoeter
38	Flowers and Statuary,	Benito Espinos
39	Fiddler Boy,	
40	Sheep under Cover,	Newell
41	Titian's Venus,	after Titian
42	Hagar and Ishmael,	Bagaza
43	Cottage Door—Travelling Tinker,	J. W. Boddington
44	Landscape and Cattle,	Newell
45	Vase of Flowers,	Italian School
46	Sea Piece,	F. Birch
47	Falcon Hunting—Head by Couture, Paris,	Newell
48	Charles First,	after Vandyke, Er. Fischer
49	Virginia Wedding,	W. Ranney
50	Incredulity of St. Thomas,	after Guercino
51	Magdalen,	
52	Diana and Endymion,	Dan Seeghers
53	Landscape,	Balfourin
54	Village Bride,	after Greuze, Er. Fischer
55	Spaniel Dogs,	Ansdale
56	Decline of Life—Old Lady,	Schuessele
57	The Busy Bee—Cottage,	Newell
58	Garden Scene, Fountain and Flowers,	Italian School
59	Sleeping Artist and his Subject,	J. Tolabert
60	Mischievous Boys, Porcelain,	Er. Fischer
61	Portrait of Chas. Carroll of Carrollton,	Latta
62	Female Artist in Studio,	Ger. Dow
63	The Proposal,	Unknown
64	Sportsmen—Double Shot,	De. Posterin
65	Diana and Flora,	Dan. Seeghers
66	Gonzalvo de Avalos,	Al. Miller
67	Madonna and Child—after Vandyke,	Er. Fischer
68	French Pastarol—the Country Dance,	after Watteau
69	Children of Rubens, after Rubens,	Er. Fischer

NO.	SUBJECT.	ARTIST.
70	Winter Scene,	Kreuseman
71	Landscape,	after Brill
72	Death of Saul,	Unknown
73	Rural Scene—Children at Spring,	Er. Fisher
74	Landscape—View on the Rhine,	Von. Ensrich
75	Interior—Gossiping,	A. Pez
76	Do. —Asking a Blessing,	Kahant
77	Marine—off Holland,	Dutch School
78	Interior—Conversation and Music, 1663,	Boucke
79	Milton Composing Paradise Lost,	French School
80	Winter Piece,	Breughel
81	Fruit Piece,	Newell
82	Madonna and Child—from Rubens,	E. Fischer
83	Souvenir De Cœur,	A. Gapple
84	Portrait—Lady of the Court of Louis 16th,	A. Graffelle
85	Countess Gartz,	Graff
86	Gypsy Fortune Teller, after Sir T. Lawrence,	Newell
87	Sir Walter Raleigh and Queen Elizabeth,	E. Lamy
88	Marine—off the Coast of Holland,	Van Enrich
89	Study—Old Man,	E. Fischer
90	Study—Old Woman,	Do.
91	The Blond Girl,	Do.
92	Study—Boy,	Do.
93	Portrait—a Boy,	Do.
94	Study—Female Figure,	Guerin
95	Portrait—after Rubens,	Al. Miller
96	Sympathy,	Lalabert
97	Sir Geo. Stewart's Caravan crossing Prairie,	Al. Miller
98	Scene—Shepherdess and Dog,	Boucher
99	Portrait—Rembrandt's Daughter,	E. Fischer
100	Portrait—Spectacles,	Graff
101	Flower Piece,	Vanbringer
102	Piety,	E. Fischer
103	Little Girl,	Do.
104	Head,	Do.
105	Moyese Age,	Do.

NO.	SUBJECT.	PROPRIETOR.	ARTIST.
106	Head of the Saviour,	Dr. Faller. after Guido,	Unknown
107	Lady at her Toilet,	W. Dresel.	Schollen
108	Interior, Kitchen—servant asleep,	W. Dresel.	B. De Loose
109	Fruit Seller—candle light,	Dr. Edmondson.	Unknown
110	Landscape—Evening,	Wm. King.	Paul Weber
111	Portrait—Gentleman,		after Rembrandt
112	The Good Shepherd,	His. Soc. after Murillo,	T. Ruckle
113	Landscape—View of the Cordilleras, near Cotopaxi, S. Amer. from Nature,	Mignot.	L. R. Mignot
114	Portrait—Rubens Wife,	Dr. Edmondson.	after Rubens
115	Landscape,	Wm. King. after Lessing.	Hawksett
116	Garden Scene—Gypsy Fortune Teller,	J. P. Kennedy.	Andrews, London
117	Interior—Kitchen,	Wm. King.	Cantins
118	The Philosopher in his Studio,	Wm. King.	E. Bertien
119	The Ferry,	J. Shaw.	Zwagers
120	Independence,	F. B. Mayer.	F. B. Mayer
121	Volcanic Regions, near Cotopaxa, S. Amer. from Nature,	Dr. Harris.	Mignot
123	Mountain Scenery—Swiss Peasants,	F. Fickey, Jr.	
124	The White Horse,	W. King. after Nature,	Van Arden
125	Madonna, Del Sisto,	Historical Society.	after Raffaele

“Here the Madonna appears as the Queen of the Heavenly host, in a brilliant glory of countless angel heads, standing on the clouds, with the Eternal Son in her arms; St. Sixtus and St. Barbara kneel at the sides. Both of them seem to connect the picture with the real spectators. A curtain, drawn back, encloses the picture on each side: underneath is a light parapet, on which two beautiful boy-angels lean. The Madonna is one of the most wonderful creations of Raphael’s pencil: she is at once the exalted and blessed woman of whom the Saviour was born, and the tender earthly Virgin, whose pure and humble nature was esteemed worthy of so great a destiny. There is something scarcely describable in her countenance; it expresses a timid astonishment at the miracle of her own elevation; and at the same time, the freedom and dignity resulting from the consciousness of her divine situation. The Child, enthroned in her arms, rests naturally, but not listlessly, and looks down upon the world with a serious expression. Never has the loveliness of childhood been blended so touchingly, with a deep-felt, solemn consciousness of the holiest calling, as in the features and countenance of this Child. The eye is with difficulty disenchanted from the deep impressions produced by these two figures; so as to rest upon the grandeur and dignity of the Pope, the lowly devotion of St. Barbara, and the cheerful innocence of the two angel children.

“This is a rare example of a picture of Raphael’s later time, executed entirely by his own hand. No design, no study of the subject, for the guidance of a scholar, no old engraving, after such a study, has ever come to light. The execution, itself, evidently shows that the picture was painted without any such preparation. Proofs are not wanting, even of alterations in the original design. The two angels, in the lower part, are very evidently a later addition by the master’s hand. According to Vasari, Raphael painted this picture for the principal altar of St. Sixtus, at Piacenza—at least, it was there in his time, and was only removed to Dresden in the last century. It has been supposed, with great probability, that it had been intended for a procession picture. We can easily con-

ceive the elevating impression that this glorified appearance must have produced, as it was borne slowly along over the heads of adoring multitudes, accompanied by the lights, the incense and the sacred songs of the different orders."

- |                                    |                      |                        |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 126 Cleopatra Stung by an Asp,     | J. Hodges.           | after Titian, by Sasso |
| 127 Portrait of Addison,           | Dr. Chas. O'Donovan. | Peter Lilly            |
| 128 Flora,                         | J. Hodges.           | after Titian, by Sasso |
| 129 Beginning of the Huguenot War, | J. H. Meredith.      | W. D. Washington       |
- Particulars hereafter.

- |   |                                    |                            |
|---|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 130 Landscape,  | Louis Smith.                       | R. Wilson                  |
| 131 The Ship Advance Abandoned,                             | J. P. Kennedy.                     | J. Hamilton                |
| 132 Shepherdess and Flock,                                  | F. Fickey, Jr. after Rosa Bonheur, | H. Newell }                |
| 133 Sir Geo. Stewart's Caravan in }<br>Camp—Nebraska River, | G. W. Wait.                        | A. J. Miller               |
| 134 Interior—the Hunters, a Game of }<br>Cards,             | F. Fickey, Jr.                     |                            |
| 135 Sight of the First ship,                                | J. P. Kennedy.                     | J. Shaw                    |
| 136 The Beggar Boy and his Dog,                             | J. B. Kremelberg.                  | Niedman                    |
| 137 View on Canal—Holland,                                  | Levering.                          | G. Hendriks                |
| 138 Battle Piece—Cavalry,                                   | W. King.                           | C. P. Lions                |
| 139 Portrait of a Gentleman,                                | Mercantile Library.                | Elliott                    |
| 139½ Bavarian Peasant Girl,                                 | J. H. Meredith.                    | W. D. Washington           |
| 140 Portrait of a Lady,                                     | Aug. Albert.                       | Old Halls                  |
| 141 Joseph and Potiphar's Wife,                             | Historical Society.                | Guido                      |
| 142 Narcissus,  | Judge Lee.                         | N. Poussin                 |
| 143 Landscape,  | Aug. Albert.                       | J. S. 1856                 |
| 144 Landscape—Sunset,                                       | W. Dresel.                         | F. Thureau                 |
| 145 Vase of Flowers   | W. King.                           | Roesen                     |
| 145½ Winter Scene—Holland,                                  | Do.                                | Huffman                    |
| 146 Landscape,  | Do.                                | D. Munter                  |
| 147 Magdalen in the Desert,                                 | J. Cortlan, Jr.                    | Baltoni                    |
| 148 Communion of St. Jerome,                                | Historical Society.                | after Domini- }<br>chino } |

The original of this painting is in the Vatican at Rome, and is one of the most world renowned productions of art. It was copied at the instance of the late Mrs. Crawford by Signor Bartolomaie, an eminent Italian painter, who was induced to devote himself to the reproduction of the original with a zeal whose success is illustrated in this, perhaps the finest copy that exists. The same remarks apply to Peter Martyr of Titian, from the church of S. S. Giovanni, Paoli in Venice, which is also the work of Signor Bartolomaie, and pronounced by those who have seen the two works side and side to be the best copy of the many that have been made of the original.

NO.	SUBJECT.	PROPRIETOR.	ARTIST.
149	Ruins—Cattle Reposing,	W. King.	H. Roos
150	Winter Landscape, *		J. A. Krauseman
151	Lake Scene,	Dr. Colburn.	Colburn
152	Cromwell, after Execution of Charles,	} G. W. Brown.	L. Sumers
153	View in Switzerland, *		
154	Landscape—Waterfall,	De Ford.	Hendriks
155	Cupid,	Historical Society.	
156	Interior—Kitchen,	Levering.	Unknown
157	Interior—Boor Drinking,	Levering.	Do.
158	Landscape,	Geo. J. Appold.	Do.
159	Interior—Candlelight,	J. H. Meredith.	Pupil of Van } Schendel }
160	Taggart's Valley River,	Balt. & Ohio R. R.	E. G. McDowell
161	The Marriage Supper at Cana,	Md. Historical Society.	Powell.
<p>"Paul Veronese painted four pictures on this subject, equally celebrated, of which this is the first and the largest of the four. It comprises one hundred and twenty figures, the greatest part portraits, of the most celebrated personages of the age, in which the painter lived. The first figure on the left is Alphonse D'Avalos, Marquis de Guast, by the side of him is Eleanor of Austria, and her husband Francis 1st. in a Venetian Cap. Afterwards, we see Mary, Queen of England, and Sultan Soliman the second. At the angle of the table, the person in profile and bald-headed, is the Emperor Charles V., bearing the insignia of the order of the Golden Fleece.</p> <p>"Paul Veronese is seated in front playing the viol—Titian, the bass, near him Tintoret touches the violin, and Bassan the flute.</p> <p>"This picture was painted for the dining-hall of St. George in Venice, the conquests of France caused it to be brought to Paris in 1798, where it was placed in the principal saloon of the Louvre. It has remained there ever since, the Italian Commissioners empowered to take back the pictures in 1815, having consented to leave this splendid work in France, and to take in exchange a St. Stephen painted by Charles Lebrun."</p>			
162	Landscape—Mountain and Mills,	W. King.	J. Shaw
163	Landscape and Cattle, *	Meredith.	De Munter
164	Landscape—View on Rhine,	J. P. Kennedy.	Tachtleven
165	Landscape—Brook,	J. P. Kennedy.	Unknown
166	Drovers,	Judge Lee.	Vanderdos
167	Marine Piece, *		A. Hulk
168	Studio of Rubens,	Thos. Winans.	Chas. Herbsthoffer
169	Reception of Mentor and Tele-	} Dr. Chas. O'Donovan.	B. West
	macchus by Calypso,		
170	Winter Scene in Holland,		
171	Peter Martyr—See No. 148,	Historical Society.	after Titian, } Signor Bartolomiae }
172	Landscape—Autumn,	Wilmot.	W. M. B.
173	Landscape,	W. King.	D. Munter
174	Fruit Woman,	W. King.	H. Frelens
175	Sheep and Cattle,	J. Cortlan, Jr.	Robbe
176	River Side,	J. P. Kennedy.	Unknown

NO.	SUBJECT.	PROPRIETOR.	ARTIST.
177	Nymphs Reposing,	Judge Lee.	Polenburg
178	The Miser Surprised,	J. P. Kennedy.	S. Detouche
179	Henry IV. Emperor Germany } Anno Dom. 1066,	Jas. Cortlan, Jr. Orig'l by L. Classen	
<p>"Having refused to appear before the assembly at Tribur convoked by Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, is seized by the Saxon Nobles, whom he had treated with the utmost scorn. Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, the most learned and polished man of the times, and adviser of Henry, narrowly escaped arrest. After three years concealment and the loss of all his lands, died in want and degradation."</p>			
180	Old Ballad Singers,	J. H. Meredith.	Mueller
181	Landscape—Storm,	W. King.	after Vernet
182	City and Bay of Naples.		Do.
183	Sunset—Mountain Scene.	W. King.	Paal of Dusseldorf
184	Cardinal,	Judge Lee.	
185	Portrait—Maria Antoinette, Queen of France, *	}	Adol. Huber
186	Flowers, Fruit and Game, *		Paoli Bonzi
187	Landscape,	W. King.	Vandersuit
188	Abe, in the Flying fish, vide } Swallow Barn,	J. P. Kennedy.	Birch
189	Landscape,	W. King.	Schirmer
190	Do. Cottage—Windmill, &c.	J. P. Kennedy.	Williams
191	Fruit piece,	J. H. Meredith.	J. B. Ord
192	Vender of Quack Medicine,	J. P. Kennedy.	Victoor
193	Interior—Music Party,	Do.	Unknown
194	Solitude,	Do.	Salvator Rosa
195	Landscape—Cattle, Shepherds, &c.	J. D. Kremelberg.	A. J. Daiwalla
196	Beatrice Cenci,	Jas. Hodges.	after Guido, Varucca
197	Poesy and Artists,	J. H. Meredith.	
198	Granite Cliffs,	S. Coleman.	S. Colman
199	Magdalen and Crown of Thorns,		after Corregio
200	Dutch Lady and Child,	Dr. Edmondson's Est.	Ern. Fischer
201	Landscape,	W. King.	Venetian, Unknown
202	Portrait—Jaquelin,	J. P. Kennedy.	Greuze
203	Landscape near Otsego Lake, } New York—Autumn,	Dr. Harris.	Mignot
204	Portrait—Countess de Berry,	J. P. Kennedy.	Boucher
205	Horse and Pigeon,	F. Fickey, Jr.	Newell
206	Winter Landscape—Cottage,	J. P. Kennedy.	J. Constable
207	Still Life,	Do.	Von Aelst
208	Winter Piece,	Do.	
209	Landscape,	Kremelberg.	Aug. Seidel
210	Seaport,	J. P. Kennedy.	Vernet
211	The Old Horse,	J. P. Kennedy.	Morland
212	Landscape—Ruins.	W. King.	Jno. Hawksett
213	Portrait of a Lady,	Judge Mason.	Gil. Stuart, 1798
214	Setter Dog,	J. Levering.	Van Arden

NO.	SUBJECT.	PROPRIETOR.	ARTIST.
215	Game Piece,	F. Fickey, Jr.	after Rubens
216	The Landing Place,	J. P. Kennedy.	L. Redig
217	Winter Piece,	J. P. Kennedy.	Smetz
218	The Notte of Corregio—The Holy Night, the adoration of the Shepherds,	Md. Hist. Soc.	after Corregio
<p>“The Notte is celebrated for the striking effect of the light, which, in accordance with the old legend, proceeds from the new-born babe: the radiant infant and the mother who holds him, are lost in the splendor, which has guided the distant shepherds. A maiden on one side, and a beautiful youth on the other, who serve as a contrast to an old shepherd, receive the full light which seems to dazzle their eyes; while angels, hovering above, appear in a softened radiance. A little further back, Joseph is employed with his ass, and in the back ground are more shepherds with their flocks. Morning breaks in the horizon, an ethereal light flows through the whole picture, and leaves only so much of the outline and substance of the forms apparent as is necessary to enable the eye to distinguish the objects.”</p>			
219	Portrait—Madam Le Brun,	J. Hodges.	after Sabatelli
220	Conception of the Madonna,	J. Hodges.	after Bianchi
221	Landscape,	Aug. Albert.	W. L. Sonntag
222	Landscape—Evening, *		Liest
223	Dauphin Louis XVII.	J. P. Kennedy.	Mad. Le Brun
224	Martin Luther entering the Town Hall at Worms,	Jas Cortlan, Jr.	original, L. Classin
<p>“As he drew near the door which was to admit him to the presence of his Judges, he was met by a valiant knight, Geo. Frundsberg, who touched him upon the shoulder and kindly said, “my poor monk, my poor monk, thou hast a march and a struggle to go through, such as neither I, nor many other captains have seen the like in our most bloody battles, but if thy cause be just, and thou art sure of it, go forward in God's name and fear nothing! He will not forsake thee.”</p>			
225	Fishkill Mountain and Hudson River—Winter,	Dr. Harris.	Mignot
226	Landscape—on the Rhine,	Dr. Edmondson's Estate.	Champany
227	Mother and Infant,	Kremelberg.	C. E. Butcher
228	Marauders,	W. King.	P. Fiefer
229	Conversation—Your Health,	Dr. Edmondson's Estate.	
230	Interior—She Waits,	Do.	after Reynolds
231	The Gleaner,	Do.	
232	Bursting of the Dyke—Holland,	Do.	C. Collins
233	Chinese Tea Party,	Do.	
234	Chinese Typhoon,	Do.	Langua
235	Wild Turkeys,	Do.	E. E. Newell
236	Juvenile Soldiers,	Do.	Al. Miller
237	Reading President's Message,	Do.	Al. Miller
238	Wood Gatherer,	Do.	Unknown
239	Vase of Flowers,	Do.	Do.
240	Genoese Lady,	Dr. Chas. O'Donovan.	
241	Flowers, Dog, &c.	Judge Lee,	Do.



## SMALL ROOM.

NO.	SUBJECT.	PROPRIETOR.	ARTIST.
242	Duke of Lorraine—Francis I. of Austria, *	Original by Adolph Huber	
243	Portrait		
244	Group of Children, *		Adolph. Huber
	The Family, or house of Austria, in which is introduced the Portrait of Maria Antoinette		
245	Bacchus and Ariadne,	Judge Lee.	Unknown
246	Flower Piece,	F. Fickey, Jr.	Van Huysum
247	Interior—Horse, &c.	Dr. Harris.	Unknown
248	Cottage Door—the return, &c.	J. H. Meredith.	Vanlinder
249	South American Landscape,	Gen. Williamson.	
250	The Young Guard,	W. King.	Unknown
251	Dead Hare,	F. Fickey, Jr.	
252	Head of Saviour,	Dr. Fuller.	after Guido
253	Raffaele—Portrait,	Jas. Hodges.	after Raphael
254	Flower Piece,	F. Fickey, Jr.	Van Huysum
255	Lady and Pet Dog,	G. Appold.	Unknown
256	Dead Game,	G. S. Brown, Jr.	
257	Landscape,	Geo. Eaton.	A. B. Durand
258	Landscape,	J. Shaw.	Shaw
259	Highland Music,	H. Newell.	after Landseer
260	Lion Hunt,	Levering.	after Rubens
261	South American Landscape,	Gen. Williamson.	Unknown
262	Portrait—Thomson Mason, Va.	Judge Mason.	Do.
263	Terrier Dogs,	W. King.	S. Raven
264	Flora,	Dr. Edmondson's Est.	
265	Portrait—Vivienne, *		Hy. Rigaud
266	Crucifixion,	F. Fickey, Jr.	Dietrici
267	Portrait in Pastelle,	Dalmaine.	Dalmaine
268	Interior—The Officer.	Geo. Eaton.	Lecoeurt
269	Landscape,	G. W. Brown.	McDowell
270	Battle Piece—Cavalry,	W. King.	C. P. Lions
271	Landscape,	J. P. Kennedy.	
272	Landscape,	J. P. Kennedy.	J. Shaw
273	Danl. Boone, Discovering the Valley of Miss.,	Judge Lee.	King
274	The Chess Players,		
275	Landscape—Scene in Switzerland,	W. H. Meredith.	W. D. Washington
		W. King.	Baumgartner
276	View on the Guayaquil River, S. A.	Dr. Harris.	Mignot
277	Toilet—Mother and Daughter,	Judge Lee.	
278	Charity,	Geo. W. Brown.	W. S. Tiffany
279	Dead Game,	Geo. S. Brown.	H. Newell

NO.	SUBJECT.	PROPRIETOR.	ARTIST.
280	Landscape—Winter,	W. H. Meredith.	Kostor
281	Sea piece—Dutch Boats, *		A. Hulk
282	Landscape,	Judge Lee.	Webster
283	Portrait—Col. Richard Barnes,	Judge Mason. Sir. Jos. Reynolds, }	Original 1755 }
284	Landscape and Cows,	W. H. Meredith.	A. Verhoesen
285	Landscape—Crossing the Brook.	W. King.	Unknown
286	Portrait,		
Col. John Barnes of the British Army, time of Charles II., brought to this country by Col. Abraham Barnes of St. Mary's County, Md. 1760. Judge Mason. Original by G. Kneller, 1760.			
287	Portrait—Maria Theresa, Queen of Austria, *		Original by Adol. Huber
288	Portrait—Thos. Mason of Va.	Judge Mason.	Sir J. Reynolds
289	Jupiter and Antiope,	L. Rogers.	Corregio
290	The Saviour Bound and Crowned with Thorns, *		
291	View of Baltimore from Beach Hill,	M. Kimmel.	F. Guy
292	Portrait—Seneca,	Judge Mason.	Unknown
293	Portrait—Homer,	Do.	Unknown
294	View of Baltimore from How- ard's Park,	Historical Society.	Bek
295	Vase of Flowers,	Historical Society.	Unknown
296	Female—Parrot, Flowers, Dead Game, Companion to No 186,* }		Original by Paoli Bonzi
297	Vase of Flowers,	Historical Society.	Unknown

## ENGRAVINGS.

NO.	SUBJECT.	PROPRIETOR.	ARTIST.
298	A Proof Line Engraving, of the Horse Fair,	G. W. Brown.	Rosa Bonheur
299	Do. Do. Shakspeare and his Contemporaries,	G. W. Brown.	Jno. Faed
300	A Proof Mezzotint Print—The Last Judgment, "God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing whether it be good or whether it be evil. Eccle. 12 ch. 14 ver."	G. W. Brown.	Jno. Martin
301	A Proof Mezzotint Print—Great Day of his Wrath, "And the heavens departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. Revela. 6 ch. and 14 ver."	G. W. Brown	Jno. Martin
302	A Proof Mezzotint Print—The Plains of Heaven, "And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away. And he that sat upon the throne said, behold I make all things new. Revela. 21 ch."	G. W. Brown.	Jno. Martin
303	A Proof Line Engraving, of the Marriage Supper at Cana,	G. W. Brown.	Paul Veronese
304	A Fine Line Engraving—Aurora,	Do.	Guido Rheni
305	A Proof Line Engraving—Mary Magdalen Anointing the feet of Christ,	Do.	P. Veronese
306	Fine Line Engraving—Lord's Supper,	Do.	Leo de Vinci
307	Do. Madonna del Sisto,	J. H. Meridith.	after Raffael
308	Portrait—Fine Line,	White.	Sir. Jos. Reynolds
309	Do. Do.	Do.	Schidoni
310	Do. Do. Rosetta,	Do.	C. Netcher
311	Do. Do. D. Crespe,	Do.	Crespe
312	The feast of Mondawmin—Indian Thanksgiving, water colors	S. G. Wyman.	F. Mayer
313	The Thunder Dance of the Dakotas, water colors,	Do.	Do.

## STATUARY.

314	Bust of Greek Slave,	W. K. Howard.	Hiram Powers
315	Bust of Proserpine,	Do.	Do.



A

PAPER UPON THE ORIGIN

OF THE

Japan Expedition:

Read the 7th of May, 1857,

BEFORE THE

Maryland Historical Society,

By GEO. LYNN-LACHLAN DAVIS,  
OF BALTIMORE.

*Now published, by permission of the President of the Society,  
with only a few slight alterations.*

---

Baltimore . . . Printed by John Murphy & Co.

PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS, PRINTERS, AND STATIONERS,

Marble Building, 182 Baltimore street.

1860.



*The desire to do justice to an adopted son of Maryland, (now a distinguished officer of the Federal Navy,) and the interest so strongly manifested by all classes of Americans in every thing relating to one of the old and great Empires of Asia, will be some excuse, it is hoped, for the publication, at this time, of the following Paper.*

*Baltimore, June 20, 1860.*





# ORIGIN

## OF THE

### JAPAN EXPEDITION.

---

TO the MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY I owe an apology for the character of the topic I have selected. That doubts should exist respecting subjects connected with the twilight of our earliest history—that the exploits of King Arthur, or the piratical deeds of Captain Ingle, should still involve a variety of open questions—is surely a matter of no surprise. But it saddens us to think, a discussion could arise upon a point which may be easily traced, with the aid of documents, to so recent a period; and which cannot, as an excuse for misapprehension, plead even the simple fact, that there is the least political or religious prejudice in any way mingled with it. It may also mortify us to know, how readily the authority of the Government may be invoked in the propagation of error—to say nothing of the distinguished man, whose name is associated with an act of such gross historical injustice. My meaning will be apparent upon the reading of a paragraph from the huge volume now lying before me, and

entitled "Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, performed in the years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy, by order of the Government of the United States, compiled from the original notes and journals of Commodore Perry and his officers, at his request and under his supervision, by Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D., with numerous illustrations. Published by order of the Congress of the United States."

"Commodore Perry," according to this Narrative, "after careful examination, believed that, under all the circumstances, there was a favorable opportunity for our country to establish commercial relations with Japan, and avowed his belief to several of his brother officers, as well as to some of the dignitaries of the Government, and eminent citizens, long before the subject was discussed publicly, and the expedition resolved upon. There were doubtless others (and among them probably some of high station in the Government) whose minds had been led to a similar conclusion, and who, like Commodore Perry, anticipated popular opinion on the subject of an expedition. Indeed, instructions had been sent out to Commodore Aulick, then on the East India Station, directing him to proceed to Japan; and the State Department, then under the charge of Mr. Webster, had sought information concerning Japan from the officer who commanded the *Preble* on her visit, Commodore Glynn, who very strongly felt and urged the importance of establishing, if possible, a friendly communication between that kingdom and our own country. We believe, however, we do no wrong to any one when we say,

that the thought of making an *immediate* effort was urged by Commodore Perry; and, at all events, on the recall of Commodore Aulick, he proposed to the Government of the United States the Expedition which was finally sent. The proposition was favorably received; and it was determined that a squadron should be dispatched, under his command, on the peaceful mission of endeavoring to open a friendly commercial intercourse with the Japanese." See page 77.

Such, I regret to add, is a specimen of the loose, slipshod method of the Reverend narrator. Will it be believed that the Expedition was actually projected eighteen months before the sailing of Commodore Perry; that a proposal was submitted to the Government, by Commodore John H. Aulick, as early as the 9th of May, 1851; that the Expedition was then set on foot; that, on the day afterwards, a letter was addressed by the President to the Emperor of Japan; that, on the 30th of the same month, a commission was given to Commodore Aulick to make a treaty with the Emperor; and that this Expedition was in the East under the command of Commodore Aulick, at the very time to which the preceding paragraph of the Rev. Dr. Hawks refers? Yet there is ample evidence in support of each of these propositions. The first paper I will read developes the ground-work of the design; and clearly proves, that while Mr. Webster promptly approved of the project, the credit of originating this far-famed Expedition is due to Commodore Aulick. It is a letter from the pen of the great statesman, at that time the Secretary of State, to Mr. Graham, the Secretary of the Navy, written in the author's very best style, and dated on the 9th of May, 1851.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON. *May 9th*, 1851.

Honorable WM. A. GRAHAM,

*Secretary of the Navy:*

SIR:—You will doubtless have seen in the public journals, that a number of Japanese were sometime since picked up at sea, six hundred miles from the Japanese Islands, by the barque Auckland, Captain Jennings, by whom they had been treated very kindly, brought into the port of San Francisco, and subsequently placed on board the revenue cutter Polk, to await arrangements for their return to their native country.

Captain Aulick has suggested to me, and I cheerfully concur in his opinion, that this incident may afford a favorable opportunity for opening commercial relations with the Empire of Japan, or at least of placing our intercourse with that Island upon a more easy footing.

Under these circumstances, I have the honor to inquire, whether there is any small national vessel on the Western coast of the United States, that could, without inconvenience to the public service, be ordered to take these unfortunate men on board at San Francisco, and proceed with them to Hong-Kong? Commodore Aulick is charged with the delivery of a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan. And if these Japanese mariners can be thus forwarded to Hong-Kong, there to await the arrival of the Commodore, he could then take them on board of one of these vessels under his command, and return them to their native land. Accompanied by an imposing naval force, as he probably would be on this

service, and with the kindly disposition awakened in the bosom of the Emperor towards this Government, by the act of restoring these unfortunates to their homes, the occasion, it is believed, would be most auspicious for the accomplishment of the more important objects of Commodore Aulick's mission.

I am, sir, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

The Japanese mariners were subsequently sent to the East, in conformity with the suggestion contained in the preceding letter. But let me here add another very interesting epistle signed by the President, but written (we may presume) by the same illustrious Secretary of State:—

MILLARD FILLMORE,

*President of the United States of America,*

*To His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan:*

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND:—I send you this letter by an envoy of my own appointment, an officer of high rank in his country, who is no missionary of religion. He goes, by my command, to bear to you my greeting and good wishes, and to promote friendship and commerce between the two countries.

You know that the United States of America now extend from sea to sea; that the great countries of Oregon and California are parts of the United States; and that from these countries, which are rich in gold and silver and

precious stones, our steamers can reach the shores of your happy land in less than twenty days.

Many of our ships will now pass in every year, and some perhaps in every week, between California and China; these ships must pass along the coast of your Empire; storms and winds may cause them to be wrecked on your shores,—and we ask and expect, from your friendship and your greatness, kindness for our men, and protection for our property. We wish that our people may be permitted to trade with your people; but we shall not authorize them to break any laws of your Empire. Our object is friendly commercial intercourse, and nothing more. You have many productions which we should be glad to buy; and we have productions which might suit your people.

Your Empire has a great abundance of coal; this is an article which our steamships, in going from California to China, must use. They would be glad that a harbor in your Empire should be appointed to which coal might be brought, and where they might always be able to purchase it.

In many other respects, commerce between your Empire and our country would be useful to both. Let us consider well what new interests arise from the recent events which have brought our two countries so near together, and what purposes of friendship, amity and intercourse they ought to inspire into the breasts of those who govern both countries. Farewell.

[L. S.] *Given under my hand and seal, at the City of Washington, the 10th day of May, 1851, and of the Independence of the United States the seventy-fifth.*

MILLARD FILLMORE.

*By the President:* DANIEL WEBSTER, *Sec'y of State.*

On the 30th of the same month is dated the commission to Commodore Aulick, (a copy of which will be filed with this Paper in the Archives of our Society,) clothing him with the full power to negotiate and sign a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation between the two countries.

The next document (which also I will beg leave to file) is a copy of the instructions to our newly appointed envoy, dated about ten days later than the commission. It alludes in eloquent terms to the approach of the moment when the "last link" in the great "chain of oceanic steam navigation" shall be formed; describes the manner in which the poor shipwrecked mariners shall be delivered at Jeddo, the capital of the Japanese Empire; specifies a number of objects as desirable and proper articles for the proposed treaty; and recommends the propriety of securing a period of three years "for the exchange of ratifications."

Notwithstanding the gigantic proportions and vast pretensions of the Narrative written by Dr. Hawks, it will be observed that not one of the above named documents is mentioned or even quoted in that work. Commodore Aulick is entirely ignored as the originator of the Expedition; and the only reference to him in this connection, is the one which states that he was the commanding officer of the East India squadron, and that he had been ordered "to proceed to Japan." To make the injustice of this grave omission on the part of the Reverend narrator the more apparent, and to show what little connexion Commodore Perry really had with the origin of this Expedition, it is only necessary to add, that Commodore Aulick had sailed to the East, with the full expectation of carrying out the

design, and executing the noble purposes of the mission, when he was suddenly arrested by a hand behind him—by the powerful hand of Secretary Graham—and soon afterwards succeeded in the command of the squadron by Commodore Perry, the officer who subsequently became so conspicuously connected with the history of the Expedition.

It is not good for us to make a charge without the exhibition of proof; and as it is no part of my purpose, in this Paper, to go beyond the origin of the Expedition, I will not accuse Mr. Graham of any injustice in the recall of Commodore Aulick, at the moment when this veteran in the sea-service of his country was upon the eve of reaping so rich a reward, and of enjoying so high an honor. But to rebut any presumption which may arise against the originator of this Expedition, from the extraordinary order of Mr. Graham, Secretary of the Navy, it is but due to Commodore Aulick for me to say, that Mr. Dobbin (successor to Mr. Kennedy in the office vacated by Mr. Graham's resignation) did most distinctly state he was fully satisfied with the explanation submitted by this officer, of everything relating to the aspersions which had been cast upon him; and, notwithstanding the request of Commodore Aulick, he refused to order a court of inquiry.

There are many claimants besides Commodore Perry for the honor of originating an Expedition which, all must now admit, is destined to exert a powerful influence upon the social, commercial and political fortunes of the whole world. I do not pretend to say what did or what did not pass through the mind of the President or his constitu-



tional advisers, either before or even after the interview of Commodore Aulick with Mr. Webster, on the 9th of May, 1851; nor will I stop to inquire into the date either of this or of that particular proposal, or into the exact character of the facts and suggestions submitted to the Government, upon various occasions, by different distinguished individuals. In tracing a point of external history, we must look to the record; and the difference between the case of Commodore Aulick and that of all the other claimants, is most striking and conclusive. Whatever may have been thought of other suggestions, it is certain that the proposal submitted by this officer was the one accepted by the Government. It instantly became a living embodiment, a tangible and potential reality. It was the express—the openly avowed—the direct—the immediate basis of the Expedition. And this fact is proved by the documents I have cited and read.

No blame should be cast upon Dr. Hawks for becoming the mere amanuensis of Commodore Perry, or assisting his friends in making out a report for the Government. But when he goes beyond the journals and legitimate notes of Navy officers, and assumes the functions of a historian, he comes under a stricter responsibility; and I hold it to be a duty as well as a right to expose his grave delinquencies.

Commodore Aulick is indeed a native of Virginia, and a well tried officer of the Federal Government. But our field of labor is not confined to the limits of Maryland. And I may mention as an interesting fact, that the Commodore did spend a portion of his boyhood within the bosom of our own dear State, and entered the Navy of the United

States under the auspices of General Roger Nelson, a very eminent Marylander of that period, and the father of our present distinguished townsman, the Honorable John Nelson.

I now beg leave (with this explanatory Paper) to file the documents I have cited, as a sacred deposit among the Archives of this Society, and a means of counteracting, in some degree, the tendency of erroneous statements, put forward before the whole country with an air of such imposing authority. If I understand the high objects of this Society, it is a part of her mission to collect and hand down to the future the all-important facts of the present; and to preserve the purity of the fountain, whatever may be mingled with the muddy streams which flow in every direction around us.

GEO. LYNN-LACHLAN DAVIS.

THE  
EARLY FRIENDS  
(OR *QUAKERS*)  
IN MARYLAND,  
READ AT THE MEETING  
OF THE  
*Maryland Historical Society,*  
*6th March, 1862,*  
BY J. SAURIN NORRIS.



PRINTED FOR THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
BY JOHN D. TOY.



## THE EARLY FRIENDS, (OR QUAKERS) IN MARYLAND.

---

THE rise and progress of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, in the province of Maryland, constitutes an episode rather than a prominent integral part of its history; a thread in the woof distinct and separate from the whole fabric. By the inculcation of their peculiar tenets, differing so widely from those around them, they immediately isolated themselves in a great degree from the world. Even their speech and apparel, so peculiar to themselves, seemed as a barrier between them and the rest of mankind. Abstaining, almost totally, from participation in political matters, they were content to be governed, not to govern; to yield obedience to the recognised laws, where their doctrines did not come in opposition to them; yet when so clashing, presenting a front of quiet, but downright and sturdy resistance; not by force of arms, but by the exhibition of an endurance that constitutes one of the most remarkable characteristics of the sect, and which, however open to animadversion, yet commands respect from its consistency with their principles, and the unyielding persistence with which it has been maintained.

Suddenly springing into existence in England, under the lead of their founder George Fox, enunciating their

“*testimonies*” with boldness and distinctness, which testimonies or doctrines, in many respects attacked the very foundations of men’s prejudices and principles, striking at the root of the established church polity and government, and in not a few points coming into direct collision with the laws of the kingdom, it is not wonderful that the opposition to them there, should have been bitter and powerful, and when their earliest travellers or emigrants came into the British Colonies of America, they brought the same tenets into lands where the fundamental laws, habits and feelings, were at least measurably in consonance with those of the mother country.

The rise of the Society in England dates between the years 1644 and 1648, during which period their earliest meetings for worship were held, and immediately thereafter the accession to their numbers was rapid and remarkable. In 1653 their first meetings for “*discipline*,” or ordering the affairs of the Church, were held in the north of England, and from this date may fairly be reckoned their establishment as a distinct religious body.\*

“In 1655 many ministers went beyond sea, and in 1656 some proselytes were made in the American provinces and other places,”† writes George Fox; and in July 1656 Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, arrived at Boston, being the first Quakers known to have visited America. Sewell gives a graphic account of their reception and ill usage, and states that after being five weeks prisoners, they were sent back.‡ This Mary Fisher subsequently accomplished an extraordinary journey to Turkey, and actually visited the Sultan in his camp near Adrianople; where she was kindly treated by him, and offered a guard to escort her to Constantinople, which she declined, and went thither in safety and unattended.

\* Janney’s Fox, 482. † Fox’s Journal, 1, 222. ‡ Sewell’s Hist. 1, 203.

The Colony of Virginia was visited about the same time as Massachusetts, and in this case a woman was also the first missionary of the then new sect. One Elizabeth Harris certainly returned from Virginia in the fifth month (July) 1657, O. S.; and it is believed she went to that province in 1656. A letter to her from Robert Clarkson, quoted by Bowden, is dated thus, "*From Severn the 14th of the eleventh month 1657,*" and underneath is written "*This is in Virginia.*"\* It appears to have been generally conceded that the "*Severn*" named was at a small river of that name, an affluent, or arm of Mobjack Bay, lying on the Virginia shore, between the Rappahannock and York Rivers; and Janney states that a meeting was settled there. Whatever may have been the locality of this Severn, it is certain there are places named in the letter, which give some ground for the supposition that it might be the Maryland Severn. The writer states that "we have disposed of the most part of the books which were sent,"—"at Herring Creek, Roade River, South River, all about Severn, the Brand Neck and thereabout, the Seven Mountains and Kent." Most of these places are familiar as Maryland localities. He also mentions a certain Henry Woolchurch, whose name appears in 1677, among the manuscript records of Friends in Maryland. The question as to where this Severn was, is interesting only in its bearing on the fact of the earliest date at which any Quaker was in Maryland.

Towards the close of 1657, Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston reached Virginia; from whence they started on foot to Maryland, where being joined by Thomas Chapman, they remained until the 2d of the sixth month, 1658, O. S. (which corresponds to the present eighth month, or August,) when they proceeded on their pedes-

\* Bowden's Hist. 1, 340.

trian travels to Rhode Island and New England.\* This remarkable journey was made through vast wildernesses on foot,—and among strange tribes of savages, and is an exemplification of the stout hearts of the men who encountered its perils for the sake of disseminating their religious tenets. These three men, Cole, Thurston and Chapman, were undoubtedly among the earliest Quakers who visited Maryland. Thurston had previously been in Boston and was banished therefrom, and as in the mean time laws had been made to prevent all vessels from bringing Quakers into Massachusetts, he adopted this plan of again entering that Colony by a “back door,” as it is quaintly termed in some proceedings of the General Court of Boston relating to his second visit. †

In the early part of 1659, three other Friends visited Maryland—these were William Robinson, Christopher Holder and Robert Hodgson, and through their labors some proselytes were made, or in the words of the Quaker historians, “considerable conviction took place.” ‡

On the 23d July of this year, the Governor and Council of Maryland issued orders directing Justices of the Peace to seize any Quakers that might come into their districts, and to whip them from Constable to Constable until they should reach the bounds of the province. ||

Thomas Thurston, who has been formerly mentioned, having returned from New England, it is related of him, in a manuscript letter of W. Robinson, dated 1659, and quoted by Bowden, that “he was arrested and sentenced to an imprisonment of a year and day;” and Besse asserts that four individuals were fined, £3 15s. for evincing their hospitality to him, while another was cruelly whipped “for not assisting the sheriff to apprehend him.”

\* Bowden 1, 122, and Janney's Hist. 1, 432. † Bowden, 1, 367.

‡ Sewell's Hist. 1, 334 to 336.

|| Council Rec. Lib. H. H. p. 29.



From the accounts of the charges against Thurston, as contained in the Records of the Council of Maryland, and from his subsequent history, the inference is warranted that his conduct might have been of such aggressive character as to invite the interference of the civil authorities,—and it is not improbable that he was both the cause and the victim of the harsh order of the Governor and Council before referred to.\* Seven years after

\* The following extracts from the Records of the Governor and Council of Maryland, among the MSS. collections of the Maryland Historical Society, (Liber H. H. from 1656 to 1668) give an interesting view of the suspicion with which the Quakers were received, and of the proceedings relative to Thomas Thurston and Josiah Cole. These proceedings contain no reference to Thomas Chapman, who was the companion of Thurston and Cole; and hence it is inferred that he was more circumspect in his deportment towards the authorities.

July 8, 1658.—“Upon information that Thomas Thurston and Josiah Cole had refused to subscribe the engagement by the Articles of 24 March last,” a warrant was issued to the Sheriffs to bring them before the Council. The “engagement” referred to is contained in the articles surrendering the government of the Province to Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, on 24 March, 1657; O. S. and was a promise to submit to his authority, instead of the oath of fidelity, and applied to the people then resident in the Province.

July 16, 1658.—“Upon information that Thomas Thurston was prisoner, and Josiah Cole at Anne Arundel seducing the people, and dissuading the people from taking the engagement of 24th March last,—Ordered to the Sheriff of Anne Arundel to take the body of Josiah Cole, and him in safe custody keep without bail or mainprize.”

July 22d, 1658.—Among other proceedings the oath of Commissioners and Justices of the Peace was tendered and taken upon the Holy Evangelists by all but Wm. Burges and Thomas Meares, “who pretended it was in no case lawful to swear, whose plea was by the Board disallowed,”—and the said Burges and Meares were supplanted by Capt. Thos. Howell and Thos. Taylor.

July 23d, 1658.—The Council “take into consideration the insolent behaviour of some people called Quakers, who at the Court in contempt of an order then made and proclaimed, would presumptuously stand covered, and not only so, but also refused to subscribe the engagement, notwithstanding the Act of Assembly in that case provided, alledging that they were to be governed by God’s law and not by man’s law; and upon full debate finding that this refusal of the engagement was a breach of the Articles of the 24th

this period he gave great trouble to the Quakers themselves by his extravagances, and the celebrated John Burnyeat writes of him that "he was lost as to truth,

March last, and that their principles tended to the destruction of Government;—Ordered, that all persons whatsoever that were residing within this Province, on the 24th March, 1657, should take and subscribe the said engagement by the 20th August next, or else depart the Province by the 25th of March following, upon paine due to rebels and traitors, if found within this Province after the said 25th March, and that a proclamation be forthwith drawn to this effect."

July 25, 1658.—"According to the warrant bearing date 22d instant, Thomas Thurston was brought before the Governor, and the said Thurston being desirous to depart the Province, the Governor ordered the following warrant to be drawn:—Whereas, Thomas Thurston by himself and friends hath desired of me that he may passe on to Annarundel, from whence he hath engaged himself to depart this Province by Monday next, being the second day of August, until whose departing out of the Province, Josias Cole is to remaine as by order of Court provided. These are therefore in the Lord Proprietary's name to will and require you not to molest the said Thomas Thurston during the time limited for his stay, and so soone as he shall signify to you his intention presently to depart, that you sett at liberty the said Josias Cole; Provided, that if they or either of them, shall be found within this Province after the aforesaid second day of August, unless made unable to depart by sickness, they or either of them be apprehended and proceeded against according to lawe in their case provided."

For twelve months from this period the Council does not appear to have been troubled with the Quakers,—but Thurston having returned from New England, again attracted attention, and accordingly on the 23d July, 1659, the following proceedings were had:

"Whereas it is *to* (too) well knowne in this province that there have bin (been) severall vagabonds and idle persons known by the name of Quakers that have presumed to come into this Province as well dissuading the people from complying with the military discipline in this time of danger, as also from giving testimony, or being Jurors in causes depending between party and party, or bearing any office in the province," the Justices of the Peace are directed to apprehend and cause them to be whipped from constable to constable until they should reach the bounds of the province.

August 3, 1659.—Thomas Thurston was brought before the Governor and Council by Warrant from Col. Nathaniel Utie,—and pleaded that the order of 23d July, related to the "time then to come," and was not applicable to him, he being at that time in the Province. This plea was allowed, but "the Board

and became a vagabond and fugitive as to his spiritual condition, and little otherwise as to the outward.’’\*

In 1660 or 1661, Josiah Cole was banished from Maryland, but on what charge is not related.†

About this time Geo. Rofe, another minister visited the American Colonies, including Maryland, and on the 15th of 9th month, 1661, he writes to Geo. Fox, from Barbadoes, that “many settled meetings there are in Maryland and Virginia and New England.”‡ In 1663, he paid a second visit to this Province, and was drowned during a storm in the Chesapeake Bay.||

Thus far the history of the early Quakers in Maryland is confined to the aspect they presented as travelling members of a new and strange religious sect. It is not improbable that many of the settlers became converts,—in fact it is so asserted by their journalists,—while the emigration of their members from England, added to the number here, as it did in other provinces. As citizens of the colony, and of their position in it, we know but little,—owing, in some degree, doubtless, to their voluntary abstinence from participation in political affairs, as well as to the doubtful position they were placed in by their doctrines in regard to oaths, tithes or church rates, bearing arms, &c.

doth judge, that the said Thos. Thurston be forever banished this Province,’’ on pain of being whipped with thirty-eight lashes, and sent out of the Province,—and any person presuming to receive, harbor or conceal him after the tenth day of the present month, should be fined 500 lbs. of tobacco.

November 28, 1661.—“Then was called John Everitt to answer his contempt in running from his colors when prest to goe to the Susquehanna Fort—pleaded that he could not beare arms for conscience sake:—Ordered that the said Everitt be tryed at the next Provincial Court, and in the interim be committed into the Sheriff’s hands, and that the Sheriff impanel a Jury against that tyme, and in the meane tyme the said Everitt to be kept in chaynes and bake his own bread.”

\* Bowden, 1, 372. † Bowden, 1, 370. ‡ Bowden, 1, 347. || Bowden, 1, 362.

As pioneers in the work of establishing in the wilderness a new religious sect, they gave to that object their earnest and persistent labors; and amid the trials incident to the settlement of a new country,—common to all who encountered its difficulties,—they laid broad and deep the foundations of their Society,—the effects of which remain indelibly impressed on the history of our State, many of whose most respectable and prominent families find their American origin among the plain Friends, who on both shores of the Chesapeake, set up their meetings, and in their lives consistently practiced the doctrines which their ministers so fervently preached.

Kilty, in his “Landholder’s Assistant,” instances an obligation from Francis Armstrong relative to the taking up of some land for the use of Peter Sharpe, which is dated the “*nineteenth day of the third month called May,*” with said Sharpe’s acknowledgment at the foot thereof, and which bears date the “*twentieth of the fifth month 1665.*” In a note he says, “the singularity observed in this contract of naming the months by their numbers, cannot well be accounted for, as no other instances of it have been perceived, and the people who now have that practice were scarcely tolerated in Maryland. Strangers (at least) of that description being treated, when found in the province, with indignities which I do not *chuse* to mention.”\*

It is evident that Kilty was ignorant of the earlier existence of the Quakers in Maryland. The use of numbers for naming the months being a peculiar custom of Friends, might be taken as conclusive proof that Armstrong and Sharpe were of that sect,—but there are other evidences of the fact,—one of peculiar interest is given by Mr. Davis in his “Day Star,” where he quotes the

\* Kilty’s Landholder’s Assistant, 88.

will of Peter Sharpe (who was a physician) dated in 1672, giving “to Friends in the ministry, viz: Alice Gary, William Cole and Sarah Mash, if then in being,—Wenlock Christerson and his wife; John Burnett and Daniel Gould, in money or goods,—forty shillings worth a piece; also for a perpetual standing, a horse, for the use of Friends in the ministry.’”\*

The instance given by Kilty refers to the earliest period which I have met with, in which the Quakers appear as land owners.

Wenlock Christerson, mentioned as one of the devisees in Dr. Sharpe’s will, was one of those who figured prominently in Boston during the trials of the Quakers there. While the trial of William Leddra was progressing in that city, in March, 1661, this Christerson, who had himself been previously banished thence on pain of death, suddenly appeared in Court, as the friend and sympathizer of the prisoner,—braving all consequences to himself, that he might possibly aid his friend, and serve the cause he had so fearlessly and earnestly embraced. He was again arrested, tried and sentenced to be hung, but after a few days he was, with twenty-seven others, released.† In 1664 he was whipped with ten lashes, in each of three towns in Massachusetts, and driven into the wilderness.‡ In 1674 he was a petitioner to the Assembly of Maryland, in regard to oaths and affirmations,—|| and his name frequently occurs among those of the Friends in Maryland. The Half Year’s Men’s Meeting, held at John Pitts’ on the Eastern Shore, in the 8th month, 1679, took some order relative to securing Elizabeth Christerson for what legacies were given to

\* Davis’ Day Star, 78.

† Sewell’s Hist. 1, 338.

‡ Bowden’s Hist. 274.

|| Ridgley’s Annapolis, 60.

John Stacy by Wenlock Christerson, "*he now being set free,*" (i. e. *dead.*)\*

In April, 1672, George Fox arrived in Maryland, landing at the Patuxent, and just in time to reach a "General Meeting for all the Friends in the Province of Maryland," which had been appointed by John Burnyeat to be held at West River. He describes it as "a very large meeting," "and held four days, to which, besides Friends came many other people, divers of whom were of considerable quality in the world's account."†

After the meeting for public worship, they held a meeting for Church discipline,—the first that appears to have been held for that purpose in Maryland.‡

This meeting at West River is celebrated in the history of the Quakers in Maryland, as being the first general meeting of their members, and which has been succeeded by others known as "Half Year's Meetings," "Yearly Meetings," "Quarterly Meetings," &c.

Immediately after this meeting Fox appears to have continued his labors by preaching his doctrines, and establishing meetings for discipline, at various places in the province. He has left a very complete, interesting and curious record of his travels in Maryland, and other American colonies,—written with great plainness of diction, and bearing evidences of his earnest devotedness to the cause he had espoused.

In October, 1672, he attended the "General Meeting for all Maryland Friends," at "Treadhaven Creek,"|| at or near where now stands the town of Easton, Talbot County. This meeting held five days,—the first three for public worship; and the other two for discipline, at which the men and women held separate meetings, as is

\* MSS. Records of Md. Friends.

† Janney's Life of Fox, 328.

‡ Fox's Journal, 123.

|| Fox's Journal, 131.

now their custom. Being held just six months after the first General Meeting at West River,—and being thence for many years afterwards, semi-annually, held alternately at these two places, those meetings were sometimes called “Half Year’s Meetings.”

Fox remained in America until after the “General Meeting for the Province of Maryland,” at West River, which commenced on the 17th of 3d month 1673, and lasted four days.

The next day being the 21st, he set sail for England, so that the first and last meetings attended by this celebrated man, in America, were held at the same place, at West River in Maryland. In describing this meeting he says, “divers of considerable account in the government, and many others were present, who were generally satisfied, and many of them *reached*, for it was a wonderful glorious meeting.”\*

A curious description of one of these General or Yearly Meetings is given by Samuel Bownas, an English Quaker, who travelled for the second time in Maryland, in 1727. “The Yearly Meeting now came on, which held four days, viz: three for worship, and one for business. Many people resort to it, and transact a deal of trade one with another, so that it is a kind of market or change where the captains of ships and the planters meet and settle their affairs; and this draws abundance of people of the best rank to it.”†

This promiscuous gathering of people no doubt led to some abuses, and probably to the annoyance of the Friends, for in 1711 they advised an address to the Government “for ye prevention and suppressing the practice of bringing drink near our Meeting House in the time of our Yearly Meetings,” and in 1725, an Act was passed to pre-

\* Fox’s Journal, 142. † Life and Travels of Samuel Bownas, London, 1756.

vent the sale of liquors in booths within one mile of the Quaker Yearly Meeting house in Talbot County, or two miles of the Yearly Meeting house near West River in Anne Arundel County.\*

George Fox having established the meetings for discipline in Maryland, they appear to have been regularly kept subsequently.† The earliest manuscript records of the General or Yearly Meetings, which are now extant, commence in 1677, and are regularly continued from that period. These Records are now in the possession of the Meeting which is held in Lombard Street, between Howard and Eutaw Streets, and are kept in the meeting house there. They are in a remarkably good state of preservation,—are comprised in several volumes of irregular size and binding; and are written mostly in fair and legible characters,—but as the minutes are evidently the production of many different persons, the style is correspondingly diverse; and in many of them but little attention is paid to orthography, while punctuation is utterly ignored.

The first Record is thus dated, “*Att our General Man’s Meeting at West River in the year 1677,*”—the month is obliterated;—and the first Minute refers to a debt due to the estate of William Lewis, deceased, by one of the members “according to a judgment of a former Man’s Meeting,”—which debt not being satisfied, a Committee, consisting of Wm. Southbee and Thos. Taylor, was deputed to see to the matter, and give an answer at the next Man’s Meeting.

This early instance of the care of the Quakers to keep their membership clear of injustice, may be taken as a

\* Bacon’s Laws, 1725, chap. 6.

† Bowden gives a copy of an Epistle “from the Men’s General Meeting at West River, in Maryland, the 6 ‘day of the fourth month, 1674;’ to the Men’s Meeting of Friends in Bristol, England.”



specimen of their subsequent action in such cases, and numerous Minutes are found of similar proceedings by their meetings.

The second Record is dated "*Att our half-yeares Man's Meeting* (some words obliterated) *Treadhaven Creek the 3d day of ye 8th Month 1677.*"

The first Minute is thus, "It was agreed upon by the Meeting that John Edmondson, Bryon O'Mealy and Ralph Fishbourn doe goe to Vincent Lowe and shew him Robert Ridgley's letter and treat with him about the report he spread abroad of *ffriends that were chosen Assembly Men*,"—shewing that thus early in the history of our State, the Quakers held some offices of consequence under the proprietary government.

That the Society had an appreciation of the importance of keeping records of their Meetings, is shown by another minute at this Meeting, ordering "that John Hilling should be paid 400lbs. of tobacco for writing the concerns of *ffriends* on this side,"—probably meaning on this side of the Bay.

At the same Meeting it was "thought fitt and meete that a Stock should be gathered for the service of the truth," "and the supply of the poore amongst us," "every *ffriend* being left to his freedom what to give," and the subscription list is given in full. The amount subscribed was 8650lbs. of tobacco. Among the subscribers was Thomas Taylor, whose name appears among others, in a manuscript of the Monthly Meeting of Bristol, England, quoted by Bowden, and is styled "one of the Council and Speaker of the Assembly."

The Records for the "*General Man's Meeting at West River the 18th of 3d Month 1678*" contain a Minute that a Committee of nine persons,—one from each local or "particular" Meeting,—should be appointed to "make

enquiry into the estate, condition and usage of orphans and their estates, and to give an accompt to every respective half-year's Man's Meeting," "so that they be in no wise abused nor their estates wasted, and that poor orphans may be provided for."

These early Records show their solicitude for the poor and helpless; and so marked has been this characteristic of the Quakers, that it has passed into an adage, that "no Quaker is found begging, or in the Alms House."

Subsequently there was a standing committee appointed, which was termed a "*Meeting for widows and orphans*," and held its sessions at least as often as the General Meetings, to which it reported. Some of these Minutes are curious in the circumstances and cases reported as claiming attention.

As a specimen, a minute of 1679 may be quoted, which is as follows: "The widow Ford hath referred herself to our Man's Meeting for advice and assistance in the matter relating to her outward estate,"—and a special Committee was appointed "to examine how matters are with her."

The custom of these primitive people was very marked in regard to their care of the temporal affairs of their members. Many instances occur where matters of a purely private and personal nature, relating to the estate, condition and character of individuals, are made the subject of their meetings' consideration and action. In the records of their subordinate meetings, particularly, do these occur; which circumstances would render a general or unrestricted exhibition of their manuscripts, manifestly improper,—and hence the specimens of their Minutes which are here selected, are such as can by no possibility injure or wound any, who may, by descent or otherwise, be connected with those persons named therein.

The subject of marriages, involving the delicate and important questions of the legitimacy of children and descent of estates, at a very early period engaged the most serious attention of the Quakers; as according to the law of England, marriages "might be adjudged void when solemnized without license or publication of banns in the church of the parish."

The opposition of the sect to all alliance or affinity with the established church, induced it in this matter to take a stand that was bold and difficult to be maintained; and in no particular have they manifested a more distinct and determined position.

In 1652, George Fox issued a paper advising Friends about to be married "that they might lay it before the faithful in time, before any thing was concluded, and afterwards publish it in the end of a meeting, or in a market, as they were moved thereto. And when all things were found clear, being free from all others, and their relations satisfied, they might appoint a meeting on purpose for the taking of each other in the presence of at least twelve faithful witnesses." \*

In 1661, a Quaker marriage was brought to the test of a legal tribunal in England, and the Judge, (Archer, of Nottingham Assize,) instructed the jury favorably to its validity, saying, that "there was a marriage in Paradise when Adam took Eve and Eve took Adam, and that it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage." The verdict of the jury established the validity of the marriage in question. †

In no particular does the society appear to have exercised greater caution and care, than in that of their marriages; requiring two or three applications to as many meetings, so as to ensure publicity of intentions, and to

\* Janney's Hist. 2, 49.

† Ibid. 2, 51.

guard against all things that might, in their quaint style, "be contrary to the order of truth," or bring discredit on their membership.

In the old manuscript records of the Maryland Friends, numerous instances are found of their proposals of marriage,—one of which, in 1678, may be given as a curious specimen, viz:

"Obadiah Judkins and Obedience Jenner, acquainted this meeting, and also the women's meeting, with their intentions of coming together as husband and wife, according to the order of truth; now inasmuch as the young woman is but lately come forth of England, and Friends noe certaine knowledge of her, the advice of the men and women's meeting is that they forbear, and proceed noe further till certificate be procured out of England from the meeting where she last belonged unto, of her being *cleere* from others, and as to the manner of her life and conversation, that so the truth may be kept *cleere* in all things; both the partys being willing to submit to the same, and also to live apart in the mean time."

Among the earliest "testimonies" of the Quakers, their objection to oaths is prominent; and as a consequence they encountered great difficulties in many particulars. Their efforts were continuous to be relieved from the disabilities they encountered as witnesses, administrators of estates, guardians of orphans, &c.

In 1673, Wm. Penn addressed a letter to Friends in Maryland in which he says, "it fell to my lot to manage your concerns with the Attorney General of the Colony and the Lord Baltimore, about oaths,"—and gave some advice in relation to the matter.\*

In May, 1674, a petition was presented from certain Quakers to the upper house of Assembly of Maryland,

\* Janney's Life of Penn, 106.

asking to be relieved from the necessity of taking oaths, and that they be allowed to make their "yea, yea, and nay, nay;" if they break which that they suffer the same punishment as they do who break their oaths or swear falsely.\*

The petition was not acted on at this time.

In 1688, Lord Baltimore was pleased to issue a proclamation to dispense with oaths in testamentary cases; which was gratefully acknowledged in an address from the Friends' Quarterly Meeting at Herring Creek, on the 7th of the 9th month, 1688.†

In 1702, (chap. 1, sec. 21,) an act was passed which fully relieved the Quakers of this difficulty.

Subsequent to this period, the favor of both the Home and Provincial Governments was manifested towards Friends, which they repaid with a grateful loyalty.

Tradition relates that for many years it was customary to reserve seats for the Provincial Governor and his suite on the raised benches or forms, called the "Preacher's Gallery," which they occupied at times during the sessions of the Yearly Meetings.

The General or Yearly Meetings had from their commencement been in the habit of enquiring into the state of the society at large, and requiring reports from the subordinate meetings, touching various matters, both spiritual and temporal. These reports, as may be supposed, were of an irregular character; each meeting reporting on such subjects as happened to attract its attention. A remedy for this was found by instituting a set of questions, which the lower meetings were required to answer, thus ensuring uniformity of subject, if not similarity of reply. These questions have been altered from

\* Ridgley's Annapolis, 62.

† Besse quoted in Janney's Hist. 2, 364.

time to time, but the Friends of the present day may recognize in the following set of queries, the original and rude foundation on which has been reared the more polished structure of modern phrase. This list was adopted by the Yearly Meeting in 1725, and is copied from the Manuscript Records.

“1. Are all careful to keep meetings, both weekly, first days and monthly, coming in due time, and bringing forth their families?

“2. Are all careful to keep out of sleep and drowsiness in time of meeting?

“3. Doe those that have children train them up in the nurture and fear of the Lord, restraining them from vice, wantonness, and keeping company with such as would teach them vain *fations* and corrupt ways of this world to the misspending of their precious time and substance?

“4. Are all careful to keep their word and pay their just debts and contracts in due time?

“5. Whether any differences among friends, are they speedily ended, otherwise refer themselves to two or more honest friends, and if they cannot end the same, then refer them to the Men’s Meeting?

“6. Doe none commence or defend any suit of law except such have the advice of the Men’s Meeting; but those that defend may give their appearance or sue for a Bond on a just debt?

“7. Are all careful to keep up their *antient* and christian testimony against tithes, Priest’s wages, repairing of their houses, called churches, or any other ceremony of that nature?

“8. Have all Friends been advised to make their wills and testaments, and have them well attested?

“9. Is there no tattlers, tale-bearers, busy bodys meddling themselves with other men’s matters which they are

not concerned with, which tends to strife and discord among brethren?

“10. Doe all keep to plainness of speech?

“11. Doe all keep out of superfluity of *meet*, drink, and apparel, at all times?

“12. Doe all keep out of y<sup>e</sup> abuse of smoaking and chewing tobacco att all times ; and doe none use it but such as can render a reason the good they receive by it and loss they sustain for want of it, and that such observe convenient time and place for it?

“13. Doe non practice any clandestine way of trade which is to the dishonour of truth, which the testimony of truth is already given forth against?

“14. Is care taken and Friends advised that none too nearly (related) proceed in collateral marriages, and that none marry within the third degree of affinity and the fourth degree of consanguinity according to former advice?

“15. Whether there is any masters of trade that want apprentices or children of Friends to be put forth, that they apply themselves to the Monthly Meetings before they take those that are not Friends, or put forth their children to such?

“16. Whether have the children of the poor due education so as to fitt them for necessary employment?

“17. Whether there is any fatherless or widows that want necessarys, yea or nay, and if any want are they supplied?

“18. Doe Friends every where behave themselves orderly both in their converse and commerce, so as to answer the witness of God with them with whom they are concerned?”

The subject of using tobacco had been acted on in 1705, when an advice was issued against its immoderate use, and Friends were admonished in relation thereto.

Negro slavery existed in Maryland and other British colonies, at the time when the Quakers first settled in them;—and it does not appear that slave-holding was then considered by them, as inconsistent with their principles. Numerous instances may be adduced of the fact that they were slave-holders.

Janney in his History of the Quakers quotes the will of one Alice Kennersly, of Maryland, who bequeathed “her negro woman Betty and her child to Dan. Cox in consideration that he should pay twenty shillings annually for thirty years to the Meeting, for the paying of travelling Friends’ ferriage in Dorchester County, or whatsoever other occasions Friends may see meet,” and the Meeting recognized the bequest by advising Dan. Cox to be present at the next Monthly Meeting to answer such questions as may be asked him concerning the premises.

In 1671, George Fox issued an advice to Friends in Barbadoes “respecting their negroes” “to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God,” “and after certain years of servitude they should make them free.”\*

Whilst in Barbadoes he was assailed with a calumny that he “taught the negroes to rebel,” which he declared was “an abominable untruth,” and “it is a thing we utterly abhor.”

The earliest movement <sup>on</sup> the part of the Quakers in America, in a Meeting capacity, relating to slaves, was by some German Friends at Kreisheim, near Germantown, Penn., in 1688, when they addressed a paper to their Yearly Meeting “concerning the lawfulness and unlawfulness of *buying* or *keeping* negroes.” No action was then taken on it by the Yearly Meeting.†

In 1700, Wm. Penn. having made provision for the liberation of the few slaves he held, brought the subject

\* Fox’s Journal, 2, 134.

† Janney’s Fox, 468.



before a Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, but the extent of its action was merely to direct that the negroes and Indians should be encouraged to attend Friends Meetings.\*

From this time forward it is said that the subject of slavery continued to attract the notice of the Quakers in various parts of America;—but no Minute upon the question appears in the Manuscript Records of Friends in Maryland until the 6th month, 1759, when upon a revision of their queries, a new one was adopted as follows: “*Are Friends careful of importing or buying of negroes, and doe they use them well they are possessed of by inheritance or otherwise, endeavoring to trane them up in the principles of Christian religion?*”

In the 5th month 1760, the Records of the Yearly Meeting at West River, relates to “some *oneasiness*” with some Friends respecting the words, “*buying of negroes*,” “agreed to last year,” and the Meeting thinks, “Friends at present are not fully ripe in their judgments to carry the minute farther than against being concerned in the *importing* of negroes.”

At the Meeting in the 10th month of the same year, at Treadhaven, the minute relative to this subject is that “this Meeting concludes that Friends should not in any wise encourage the importation of negroes, by buying or selling them, or other slaves.”

In the 5th month 1762, the Meeting at West River declares: “It is their solid judgment that no member of our society shall be concerned in *importing* or *buying* of negroes, nor selling any without the consent and approbation of the Monthly Meeting they belong to.”

The Manuscript Records teem with the subject of slavery;—nearly every year was it brought before the Meet-

\*Janney's Fox, 468.

ings, and it gradually grew from a concern relating only to the *importation* of negroes, to the retention of them as slaves. Great caution is apparent in their Minutes upon the subject, and as it encountered serious opposition by many of their members, it was not until 1777 that slave-holding was made a disownable offence.\* In 1770 the Yearly Meeting of New England had arrived at the same point, and in 1776 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had also come to the same conclusion. In 1777 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, (which embraced the Friends of South Carolina and Georgia) contemporaneously acted in concert with their brethren in Maryland,† but it was not until 1784 that the Virginia Friends adopted the extreme measure of disownment for holding slaves.‡

It thus appears that nearly a century elapsed between the first introduction of the subject in the Society in 1688, to its final settlement in 1784:—while the Maryland Friends consumed eighteen years in the discussion of the question, before arriving at the position they have since maintained in relation thereto.

We have no means of ascertaining the pecuniary sacrifices made by the Maryland Quakers, to their conscientious convictions on this momentous subject, but tradition relates that one family alone liberated 200 slaves.

From the fact that a large number of Friends lived in the slave-holding counties of Anne Arundel, Prince George's and Montgomery, and others on the Eastern Shore, where the great mass of labor was performed by slaves, it is easy to believe that in the aggregate the sacrifice was very great; and perhaps has no parallel instance where such pecuniary loss was voluntarily incurred for conscience' sake.

\* MSS. Records of Md. Friends.

† Pamphlet Report of N. Carolina Yearly Meeting on the subject of Slavery.

‡ Janney's Fox, 469.

The General Meetings of the Society in Maryland continued to be held at West River and Treadhaven, until the 4th of the 6th month, 1785, when, in accordance with a Minute of adjournment of the previous Yearly Meeting at Thirdhaven, as it was now called, it was for the first time held at Baltimore Town. It had now become strictly an Annual or Yearly Meeting, and was held the next year, 1786, at Thirdhaven; in 1787 again at Baltimore Town;—in 1788 at Thirdhaven; and in the 6th month, 1789, for the third time at Baltimore Town; and from that period has continued to be held in this city; the autumn being chosen for the time, instead of early summer as heretofore. The present Meeting House at the corner of Aisquith and Fayette Streets, was built in 1780, and the particular Meeting moved thereto in January 1781, from an older house which stood on the site of the Quaker burying ground on the Harford turnpike, a short distance beyond the present city limits. The older Meeting was called “Patapsco,” and the lot of ground it occupied was given by Joseph Taylor. This Meeting is first mentioned in the old manuscripts in 1703; but it was then probably held at a private house. Mr. John Giles, the first of the family of that name who have since occupied a prominent position in this state, settled near the present site of Baltimore, about 1700, and at his house the Quakers held their Meetings.\* His son Jacob Giles erected a large brick dwelling about three miles from Havre de Grace, which is still standing, and in its octagon hall the Friends of Harford County held their Meetings for many years. No vestige of the building known as Patapsco Meeting now remains, but the ground is still used as a cemetery by both of the sections into which the Society is now divided. Aged persons recollect the

\* Griffith's Annals of Baltimore.

earliest Yearly Meetings, in this city, when the throngs attending were so great that a large tent was erected for their accommodation, on the then green lots south of the present site of the Second Presbyterian Church at the corner of East Baltimore and Lloyd Streets.

The location of many of the oldest meeting houses is still known, the house at West River has long since disappeared, but the ground is still used as a public cemetery, and is now called the "Quaker Meeting lot." It is on the road leading from Galesville to Owensville, one mile from the river; and the venerable trees that stand within its precincts keep faithful watch over the resting places of many of the first Friends of Maryland, whose rigid simplicity permitted no monumental stone to tell who sleeps beneath their shadows.

The original meeting house at Easton, or Treadhaven as it was formerly called, has been replaced by a more modern structure, which however occupies the same spot, once called Edmondson's Point. From the frequent reference in the Records relative to repairs to the old house, it is probable that it was a very poorly built structure, though doubtless it taxed the finances of the Society at that early period to erect it.\*

\*The Rev. Ethan Allen has kindly furnished the following abstract of the proceedings of the Governor and Council of Maryland on the 24th May, 1698. (See "Council Proceedings," Liber H. D. No. 2.)

"In obedience to an order of his Excellency, the Governor and Council, dated the 10th of August, 1697, commanding the several Sheriffs of this Province to return a list of what Romish Priests and Lay Brothers are resident in their respective Counties, and what Churches, Chapels or places of worship they have,—what manner of buildings they are, and in what places situate,—and return also a like account about the Quakers and other dissenters from the Church of England, and of their places of worship, &c."

The Sheriff of Anne Arundel County returns, "the Quakers have one timber-work meeting house built at West River upon land formerly owned by Mr. Francis Hooker, by them purchased to the quantity of two acres, where they

Thomas Chalkly an eminent minister of the Society, in his curious and interesting journal, under date of 1706, says "Aquila Paca, High Sheriff of the County (mean-

keep their Yearly Meetings,—which is at Whitsuntide:—Also a Quarterly Meeting at the house of Samuel Chew:—Also a Monthly Meeting in Herring Creek meeting house, standing on land purchased of Samuel Chew:—Also a Weekly Meeting at the same house:—Also Monthly and Weekly Meetings at the house of Wm. Richardson, Senior, West River:—Also a Weekly Meeting at the house of Ann Lumbolt, near the head of South River:—Also a Monthly Meeting at the house of John Belt. So far as I have the account from Mr. Richardson, I can understand of no preachers they have in this County but Mr. Wm. Richardson and Samuel Galloway's wife."

The Sheriff of Baltimore County returns, "that there is neither teacher or place of worship of Roman Catholics or Quakers."

The Sheriff of Calvert County returns that "the Quakers have one very old meeting house near Leonard's Creek, and one place of meeting in the dwelling house of George Royston, at the Cliffs."

The Sheriff of Prince George County returns that there is "no Quaker meeting house."

The Sheriff of Charles County returns that there "are two Quakers, but none of their meeting houses."

The Sheriff of St. Mary's County returns, "as to Quakers and Dissenters none in the County."

The Sheriff of Somerset County returns "no Quakers."

The Sheriff of Dorchester County makes a similar return.

The Sheriff of Talbot County returns, "as to the Quaker's places of worship, they have a small meeting house at Ralph Fishbourne's and another at Howell Powell; another at between King's Creek and Tuckahoe. These are *clap-board* houses about twenty feet long. Another framed house at the head of Treadhaven Creek, about fifty feet long."

The Sheriff of Kent County returns that "the Quaker place of worship is upon a branch of a Creek running out of Chester River, called Island Creek. The house is about thirty feet long and twenty feet wide, with a partition after the manner of a tobacco house, near which is a piece of ground paled in, where they bury their dead, about fifty feet square."

From Cecil County no return appears to have been made.

At the Yearly Meeting at Treadhaven Creek, the 5th day of the 8th month, 1697, (see MSS. Records of Maryland Friends,) enquiry was made "into the estate and welfare of every *Weekly Meeting* belonging to this Yearly Meeting, viz: *South River, West River, Herring Creek, Clifts, Patuxent, Cecill, Chester,*

ing Baltimore County,) living at the head of Bush River, near the main road, built a meeting house at his own charge, and had it licensed, at which we had many good Meetings.’’

There is now standing a venerable stone building, until recently known as the “old Quaker meeting house,” about two miles from the head of Bush River, and on the line of an old road that passes just above the heads of the many estuaries that make up from the bay. Whether this is the house built by Sheriff Paca is not known, but its location nearly agrees with that mentioned by Chalkly. Another meeting house, built of brick, until recently stood on the line of the present road from Abingdon to Bush, in Harford County, but was of more recent date than the stone house, and had not been used by the Friends for several years previous to its destruction by fire.

The earliest history of Friends shows them to have been at first a society of Propagandists;—each convert seems to have become a missionary to extend the principles of the new sect;—and every accessible part of the world appears to have been visited by them within a few years after they appeared in England. The continent of Europe was visited as early as 1655; and in Germany and Holland considerable success was met with. Some went to the Holy Land, some to the Grand Turk, some to Poland, others to Algiers; and as we have seen, many sought the wilds of America where to plant the standard of their faith; and here appears to have flourished most the new

*Bayside, Tuccahoe, Tredhaven, Choptank, Transquaking, Monnye, Annamessex, Muddy Creek, Pocatynorton and Nosswardox.*

The apparent discrepancies between the returns of the Sheriffs and this list of Weekly Meetings, may possibly be explained by the fact that some of these Meetings were held at *private houses*, which some of the Sheriffs may not have considered as embraced within the order of Council, while others included them in their returns.

doctrines they promulgated. It is estimated by some of their best authors that four-fifths of all the Quakers now in the world are in America.

Not only by travelling and preaching did the zealous founders of their faith seek to establish it. Books of various kinds, tracts, and pamphlets, appeared in great numbers. So early as 1708, a catalogue of Friends' writings was published by John Whiting, himself an author, which contained the names of five hundred and twenty-eight writers, and the titles and dates of about twenty-eight hundred books and tracts. Since that date, a vast mass of their writings has accumulated, and no one who has not had occasion to look into the Quaker libraries, can have an idea of the number of books, by their authors, that now are to be found in them.

They have, from the time of their establishment, been in the habit of keeping with care the minutes of their meetings for discipline,—memorials of their most eminent members, and general records of their proceedings; these added to other means, render the materials for the history of the society both abundant and reliable; and as such have been well used by some of their modern authors,—among whom Bowden and Janney, (the former of England and the latter now living in Virginia,) have contributed largely to their general history, and from whose pages many of the circumstances here related have been gleaned; while still more has been derived from those old manuscripts herein before mentioned, which in their quaint simplicity, and unaffected directness of style and diction, give the best delineation of those, who in the earliest days of our State, found here a home, where, at that period, they enjoyed greater ease and liberty than either in the Mother Country, or in the more advanced provinces of New England.

The Maryland Yearly Meeting at one period embraced the State of Ohio within its church jurisdiction,—but in 1812, their members had so increased that a new Yearly Meeting was established, to include all west of the Alleghanies. At a later period, the Yearly Meeting of Indiana was set up ; and still more recently, still pushing westward, other meetings have extended across the Mississippi River ; and as civilization marches towards the great West, the Quakers accompanying its footsteps, appear to be belting the continent with their meetings ; each new one in succession springing out from the next older ; and finding their common mother in “ *the General Meeting for all the Friends in the Province of Maryland,* ” established by George Fox in 1672, as an original and independent organization.



WHO WERE

THE

Early Settlers of Maryland:

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE

"MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

AT

Its Meeting held Thursday Evening,  
October 5, 1865.

---

BY THE

REV. ETHAN ALLEN, D. D.

---

BALTIMORE.

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE AM. QUAR. CHURCH REVIEW,  
New Haven, Conn.

-----  
1866.



# WHO WERE

## THE

### FIRST SETTLERS OF MARYLAND.

---

IF this question be answered in reference to individuals, we are shown that Kent Island, in the Chesapeake Bay, the first settlement in what is now the State of Maryland, was settled under the proprietorship of William Claiborne, a member of the Council and Secretary of State, of the Virginia Colony. But the names of the individual settlers under him during the first five years, have not come down to us.

The next settlement, four or five years later, was under the proprietorship of Cecelius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore. In his third "relation of Maryland," that of A. D., 1635, he has given us the names of his first Colonists, styled gentlemen, and the number of their servants. The gentlemen adventurers that embarked, were seventeen, namely : two of his Lordship's brothers ; two Commissioners ; a son of Sir Thomas Gerard ; two sons of Lady Anne Wintour ; a son of Sir Thomas Wiseman, and nine others, whose names, simply, are mentioned. These, with their servants, numbered about two hundred. Of these, George, one of the sons of lord Baltimore, remained in Virginia, and never came to Maryland ; and two died on their passage, leaving only fourteen to have settled here. Of this fourteen, at the end of four years, nine had died, or removed. In a few years, four of these five died, and the last one returned to England. No one of all these left any descendants in the Province. The names of the servants, for the most part, are still found on the land records,—as are those of the subsequent emigrants,—and at the end of four years, some of these had become land-holders, and have the titles of "freemen" and

“gentlemen,” affixed to their names. Of this class, some of their descendants are among the most prominent families in the State.

In the further answer to our question, we may look at it in two aspects. First, what was their Nationality, and secondly, what was their Religion.

In reference to the first, it is generally stated in our newspapers, and in our school books, that it was settled by the Irish. This is a palpable error, and truth requires its correction. In this paper, it is not designed to go at large into an examination of this point. But it may be stated, in passing that the larger number, for thirty years, were from the Province of Virginia; so that it was early said, and frequently said by those of that Province, that one half of it was depopulated to settle Maryland. It is not indeed probable, that all of these settlers were natives of that Province; but from what foreign country those who were not, came, cannot here be shown, save generally, that they were of English birth.

The next larger number were natives of England, including Wales. Then came, in no inconsiderable numbers, natives of Scotland. Then, those of France, who were Huguenots. Then, from Germany, Holland, Bohemia, Spain, Italy, and last, if not least of all, from Ireland,—saving Irish servants. It was a mingled mass of Celtic, Gothic, Slavonic and even Hamitic origin. To examine this point at large, and in detail, however, is not our present purpose. Though interesting, in many points of view to do so, we have neither time nor space. It is a subject sufficient for a paper by itself. What has been stated, is enough to show the untruth to which we have referred, and should lead to the correction, at least of the school books of our country. They have too long already taught positive error on this point.

In reference to the second aspect mentioned,—it is generally, nay, almost universally held, that Maryland was settled, in early times, by and with Roman Catholics; using the name in its popular acceptation. In answer to this, the following statements will tell their own story, and that faithfully and truly.

We will look, first, at the early settlements of each of the ten Counties established under Lord Baltimore's administration of the Government, previous to 1688,—when, as a Romanist, his government ceased.

(1st.) The first, in chronological order of settlement, was *Kent County*, embracing, at its beginning, Kent Island only. This was in 1628 or 9. It is the Island, as so well known, in the Chesapeake Bay, opposite to the City of Annapolis. The settlers here were then a part of the Virginia Colony, and all of them were Church of England men,—as were all in that Colony,—no others being then allowed to reside there, by the regulations of the English Government. The Rev. Richard James, and other Church of England Ministers from Jamestown, ministered in this settlement; all this we are shown from Virginia records and English documents. This settlement was a Protestant settlement.

(2d.) The next, in order of time, was *St. Mary's County*, under Lord Baltimore, who, by the way, as so well known, was an Englishman, as his long line of ancestry also had been. His title, indeed, was that of an Irish Baron, though he himself never resided in Ireland. In 1634, he sent over his first Colonists, all Englishmen; consisting, as before mentioned, of seventeen gentlemen and their servants, who seated themselves on St. George's, the River emptying into the Potomac, and not very distant therefrom, in a town which they named St. Mary's.

Who this Colony was made up of, may be seen from the letters of Father White, who came over with the first emigrants. His statement is this; “if you except sea-sickness, no one [on board the vessels coming over] was attacked with any disease, till the Festival of the Nativity of our Lord [Christmas]. That the day might be more joyfully celebrated, the wine flowed freely, and some who drank immoderately, about thirty in number, were seized the next day with the fever, and twelve of them not long after died, and among them, two Catholics, Nicholas Fairfax and James Barefoot, which caused great regret with us all.” These were two of the seventeen gentlemen before

mentioned. This may show us, that a very large proportion of the Colonists certainly were not Romanists. Among them, however, were two Jesuit Priests, who at once secured a chapel for their services in St. Mary's Town.

How soon the Protestants had a Church, is not stated. But in our very earliest documents, we find mention of Trinity Church, on Trinity Creek, six miles south of St. Mary's. Soon after, we have mention of St. George's Church, four or five miles West of St. Mary's ; and in 1642, we have an account of a Protestant Church in St. Clement's hundred, on St. Paul's Creek, some twenty or thirty miles up the Potomac. There were now, thus, three Protestant Churches, but no second Romanist Chapel had been yet established ; and Protestant Churches still stand on, or near the ground, where these three were.

Three years after this, that is, in 1645, occurred here what is known as Ingle's Rebellion, (not Claiborn's, as it is so often called,) he acting, as it is stated, under the authority of Parliament, which was then in the ascendant in England. In a letter written by the Maryland Assembly to Lord Baltimore, touching the matter, they state that *almost all the Romanists were driven out of St. Mary's at that time.* The government, consequently, fell into the hands of the Protestants, and St. Mary's itself was then Protestant. But in about two years, Governor Calvert, by the aid of Virginia soldiers, recovered his government. What portion of the banished Romanists returned, has not been ascertained.

(3d.) In 1648, Lord Baltimore appointed Colonel William Stone, of Virginia, a Protestant, his Lieut. Governor in Maryland, on condition of his bringing into the Province five hundred Colonists ; and with this condition it was accepted. Now then we have a third settlement, known as *Ann Arundel* County. It was on the Western shore of the Chesapeake Bay, North of St. Mary's, and opposite to Kent Island. It included all the territory on the Bay, North of the Patuxent River. In the next year, 1649, and soon after, the five hundred Colonists engaged to be brought in by Col. Stone, arrived. Some were from

England, but the rest came in from Virginia, and settled on the Bay Shore, and its tributaries, from the Patuxent to the North of the Severn River. These were all Protestants, for, as we have seen, no others had been permitted to reside in Virginia. Of this number, about one hundred were of the Puritan stamp, and settled immediately on the Severn. The rest were adherents of the Church of England.

In 1650, there arrived from England another small Colony. This was under the command of Robert Brooke, Esq. For this Colony, Lord Baltimore created a County on the South and South West side of the Patuxent, reaching from the Chesapeake Bay upwards, along its borders some fifty miles or more, which he named Charles. This County lay between St. Mary's on the South and Ann Arundel on the North. To Mr. Brooke, Lord Baltimore, as the document has it, gave the license and advowson of all the Churches in his County, which might be built. With him, came in the Rev. William Wilkinson, a Church of England Minister. This, too, was a Protestant Colony,—Mr. Bozman thinks it was Puritan; but it was of the “High Church” stamp. In one of the hundreds which this County included, there had been previously settled a few Romanist families.

In 1654 there occurred, near where Annapolis now stands, the celebrated battle, between the St. Mary's County men, under Gov. Stone, and the Providence men, as the residents of Ann Arundel County were then called. Of this battle, Capt. Heamans published a statement. In the year following, Mr. John Hammond, a friend of Lord Baltimore, published an answer, now before us. In that answer, we have these words,—“but those *few* papists that were in Maryland,—for indeed they were but few.” Mr. Hammond had resided in Maryland, and spoke of what he knew. Nor was he at all partial to the men of Ann Arundel. This was only twenty years after the landing at St. Mary's.

(4th.) After this battle, and during the year 1654, the lower part of Ann Arundel, and Mr. Brooke's Charles County, were

combined into one County, which was called *Calvert*. This constituted the fourth County. This arrangement, however, did not change the character of the population embraced in it ; it was well nigh all Protestant.

(5th.) The fifth County established, was *Charles County*, now so known. This was in 1658. It is on the Potomac River, and North West of St. Mary's, from which it is separated by the Wicomico River. It was created thus, out of the north western part of St. Mary's County, and its population, consequently, was a mingled one of Roman Catholics and Protestants, just as it was before being made a separate County.

(6th.) The sixth County was created in 1659. This was named *Baltimore*, and embraced the northern part of Ann Arundel County, extending from *below* the Patapsco River, to the northern limits of the province. What part of this County had been settled, was, as was all Arundel, Protestant. The additions to its population were from England, and of the Church of England.

Thus much for the five Counties on the Western shore of the Bay, to 1659, and no new one was added, for near forty years. Three were entirely Protestant, and the other two, only in part Roman Catholic.

About this time, there came in some Quaker preachers from England, and numbers of the Puritan part of the settlers in Ann Arundel, and in Calvert, East of the Patuxent, went over to that denomination.

Turning now again to the Eastern shore of the Chesapeake, we have already seen that the first settlement on Maryland territory, was made on that shore, and became Kent County, and that it was Protestant.

(7th.) In 1660, or in 1661, a new County was constituted, out of the southern part of Kent County, extending South to the Choptank River. And, as was the population of Kent, so consequently was this, Protestant. Its early population had been much added to by emigrants from Ann Arundel County,



and also from England, who likewise were either Puritans or Church of England men,—Protestants of course.

(8th.) Five years after this, in 1666, a third County was created, and named *Somerset*, extending from Accomac County in Virginia, northward, and from the Atlantic shore on the East, to the Chesapeake Bay and Nanticoke River on the West. The early settlers of this County were all from Accomac County, and, as the Virginians were, excepting three or four Quakers, were of the Church of England. We have a full account of them from Virginia Records. Shortly after the County was constituted, it had a large accession of emigrants from Scotland. These were Presbyterians, who erected a number of their churches; and here, says Webster's History of Presbyterianism, was the first organized Presbytery, and here was the cradle of that denomination in the United States. It was thus an entirely Protestant County.

(9th.) In 1669, *Dorchester County*, on the Bay, north west of Somerset, and South of Talbot, having Choptank River on the North, was created. The population, like that of Somerset, was Protestant. Some of it, indeed, was Puritan.

(10.) Five years after that, in 1664, *Cecil County* was created, it having before been the northern parts of Kent, and Ann Arundel Counties. It extended from Delaware, on the East, to the Bay and Susquehannah River on the West, and North to the limits of the Province. Above the Bohemia River, the population was Lutheran. Before the settlement at St. Mary's, the Swedes had made a settlement on the Delaware. Soon after the Dutch came on, and in the progress of thirty years, the population had extended across to the Bay. Subsequently, there came in from New York, the Hermans, and settled a little below Bohemia River. They, too, were Lutherans. Cecil thus was a County of Protestants. Thus, on the Eastern shore of the Bay, every one of the five Counties were settled by Protestants, and no one, even in part, by the Romanists.

Such, in this aspect of the matter, were the early settlers of Maryland, during the first thirty years. In the ten Counties, five being on each side of the Bay, only two, St. Mary's and Charles, on the Potomac, had any Roman Catholic population, and these were only in part such. And yet it is claimed now, and said constantly, that Maryland was settled with Roman Catholics !!—betraying an ignorance utterly without excuse.

To the statements now made, taken from more than thirty documents, we will refer to subsequent documents on record, either sustaining them, or showing the permanent continuance of the truth, of what might justly be inferred from them.

And first, we have Lord Baltimore's own statement, made twelve years after the last date mentioned. In 1676, complaint was laid before the Privy council, by the Bishop of London, about the want of support given to the Church of England Ministers in Maryland. Its population was now stated at 20,000. Lord Baltimore's answer was very soon laid before the Council, and is still in their archives. (2. Anderson's Colonial Church, 398.) In that answer he said, that Presbyterians, Independents and Quakers, constituted three-fourths of the population, that is, 15,000; and that the four Church of England Ministers, already in the Province, had a decent subsistence. Assuming the statement of the three-fourths to be correct, there was but 5,000 left of Church of England men and Romanists. If the Church of England Ministers, ministered to scattered congregations, of which there were many, counting in all eight hundred or a thousand to each Minister, we see at once how very few Roman Catholics there were then in the two counties in which they were found; and yet, such as we have seen, was Lord Baltimore's own statement. And we cannot deny that he was a competent witness.

Twelve years after this, that is, 1688, occurred in Maryland, what is known as the Protestant Revolution. At that time, the Roman Catholic Lord Baltimore's government ceased in the Province; and as Roman Catholic, ceased forever. For the *third time*, the government now fell into the hands of the

Protestants, and so ever after continued. But though the government was thus wrested from Lord Baltimore, his chartered estate was continued to him.

In a letter of Mrs. Barbara Smith, who had resided in Maryland, dated Dec. 1689, just subsequent to the Revolution, touching Calvert County, she tells us, that, "the men of estate, or men of note, *were themselves, as were most of the County, Protestants*;" and that "the County of Ann Arundel, accounted the most populous and richest of the whole Province, *had but one Papist family*;" thus coinciding with what is stated of these Counties forty years before. They had not lost anything, during that period, of their early Protestant character.

In 1692, the Church of England became the established Church of Maryland, by the Act of its General Assembly. In this Assembly, the Roman Catholics were excluded, and the only other opponents to the Act, as we shall see proof of presently, were the Quakers. The population of the Province was now, 25,000. By the passage of this Act, we are shown that the Church of England men were decidedly a majority over Lord Baltimore's Presbyterians, Independents and Quakers. Had it not been so, how could the Act possibly have been passed?

Within two years after the passage of this Act, the several County authorities, as was therein provided, divided their Counties into thirty Parishes. We will give a condensed statement here of the reports on record of these parishes, constituted by these authorities, as returned to the Governor and Council, adding, only in a few cases, some items from ancient parochial records, which we have examined.

St. Mary's County, according to the returns made, was divided into two parishes, which had the three Churches mentioned in 1642, but only one Minister.

Kent County was divided into two parishes, and had two Churches, but had no Minister.

Ann Arundel County was divided into four parishes, but had only two Churches, and one Minister.

Calvert County was divided into four parishes, and had three Churches, and two Ministers.

Charles County was divided into three parishes, having but two Churches and one Minister.

Baltimore County was divided into three parishes, but had only two Churches, and no Minister.

Talbot County was divided into three parishes, having four or more Churches, and two Ministers.

Somerset County was divided into four parishes, but had only one Church, and one Minister.

Dorchester was divided into two parishes, and had one Church, but no Minister.

Cecil County was divided into two parishes, and had two Churches, yet but one Minister.

There were thus, in these thirty parishes at this time, twenty-two Churches, and nine Church of England Ministers.

Two years after, three more Churches had been built, and nine Ministers had come in, making the whole number of Ministers in the parishes, eighteen, and the number of their places of worship, twenty-five.

At this date, 1696 or 7, we have the Report of the Governor of Maryland, from items furnished him, on his requisition, by the Sheriffs of the Counties, made to the Bishop of London. It is found in the archives of Maryland, and in those of that Bishop. From this Report, we have condensed the following statement, using, far as possible, its own words.

Kent County had no Popish Priest, lay brother, nor Romish place of worship, and but three Papists. There were twenty-four Quakers, who had one meeting-house.

In St. Mary's County, there were two Priests, one lay brother, and four Chapels. But there were no Quakers, or Dissenters.

In Ann Arundel County, there was neither Priest nor lay brother. But the Quakers had two meeting-houses, two meetings in private houses, and two preachers.

In Calvert County, there was neither Priest nor lay brother, nor any of their Churches, or Chapels. But the Quakers had one meeting-house, and one meeting at a private house.

Charles County had three Romish Priests, one lay brother, and four Chapels, but had no Quaker meeting-house, and only two Quakers.

Baltimore County had neither teacher, nor place of worship, either of Roman Catholics or Quakers.

Talbot County had no Romish Priest, or lay brother, and but one Romish Chapel. It had, however, four Quaker meeting-houses. The number of preachers is not given, if there were any, at this time.

Somerset County had no Popish Priest, lay brothers, or any of their Chapels, and no Quakers. But it had three Dissenting [Presbyterian] places of worship.

Dorchester County had no Romish Priest, or dissenting Minister.

Cecil County made no returns. There was indeed none to make.

Prince George County, which had been constituted the previous year, made of the northern parts of Calvert and Charles Counties, lying between the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers, reported that there was in it, neither Papist, Priest, nor lay brother, nor Chapel, nor Quaker meeting house.

Thus we have, in the two Counties where they were found, in their beginning, five Romish Priests, two lay brothers, and eight Churches and Chapels, and none in any other County, except a Chapel in Talbot.

In four Counties, the Quakers had eight meeting-houses, and three meetings in private houses, and none in the other Counties. Only two preachers are returned by the Sheriffs.

In one County, the Presbyterians had three houses of worship, and we may add, from other documents, two Ministers. Two others, one in Talbot and one in Ann Arundel, were there in 1694, but, as it appears, they were now gone.

Thus we have, *in all*, Roman Catholic, Quakers, and Presbyterians, according to the returns made, nine religious teachers and ministers, and twenty places of worship, not of the

Church of England ; while that Church had eighteen Ministers, and twenty-five places of worship,—thus outnumbering all the other denominations.

And now we will quote from a document which carries us back to the beginning again. In July, 1700, a Committee of his majesty's Council to the Governor, was appointed to address the Privy Council in England, vindicating the Governor and Council from some aspersions cast upon the Government of Maryland, by some persons calling themselves *ancient planters*, in connection with the Act establishing the Church. And they say :—

“ We humbly assure your Lordships, that whatever titles persons may give themselves, of dissenting Protestants, there has *no sect of Religion* here, opposed the law, but the Papists and Quakers, and, as for their [the Papists] being ancient settlers, we acknowledge that *some*, though but *few* Papists, were at the *first* seating. But, so far were the Quakers from being the most ancient seaters, that when they first came in, [in 1659,] they were ordered to be whipped out, for disturbing the government, and they are now, so far from being any considerable part, that we are confident they will not make the twentieth part of the province.”

It is but fair, however, to state, that it is said the Quakers disowned these disturbers of the Government.

This is signed by John Addison, Thomas Brooke, Thomas Tasker, and John Hammond,—names well known in their descendants, and who came into the province before thirty years after the first landing at St. Mary's. They knew whereof they affirmed.

Of the same date, 1700, we have a statement from the Rev. Dr. Bray, touching the then present state of things. He was the Bishop of London's Commissary in Maryland, and a man of high character. In a Memorial addressed to the House of Bishops in England, this year, after having been in Maryland, he writes thus :—“ The Papists in this province appear to me to be not above a twelfth part of the inhabitants, but their Priests are very numerous, whereof more have been sent in this last year, than was ever known. And though the Quakers

brag so much of their numbers and riches, yet they are not above a tenth part [of the population] in number." This was not indeed guess work ; it was shown by the return of the County Sheriffs.

These testimonies, we doubt not, will be sufficient to show who, in respect to their Religion, were the early settlers in Maryland. They would be held so in any Court of Law, and more especially so, where, as in this case, there is no counter testimony.

But it may not be without interest to give some later testimony, to show how this matter continued, subsequent to 1700.

In 1715, The Lords Baltimore, having become Protestant, the Government of Maryland was restored to them by King George I., and continued to be Protestant, just as it had been since 1688. Henceforward, the Governors of the Province were appointed by them, just as they had been by the King, for the last twenty-five years.

During the administration of one of the Governors, that of Gov. Sharpe, there was quite a panic in the Province, in which the Roman Catholics were implicated. It was spread abroad that a general massacre of the Protestants had been plotted. To counteract this, the Governor ordered the County Sheriffs, in 1758, to make returns to him of all the Roman Catholics in their respective Counties, and these returns are on record still, in the archives at Annapolis. And we have the summing up of them, in a letter from Gov. Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, of Dec. 19, 1758, in these words :—"The people of that Religion, [the Roman Catholic,] do not, at present, make a thirteenth part of the inhabitants, [the population now was upwards of 200,000,] as I find by the returns of the Sheriffs and Constables, who have, in obedience to my order, made the most strict inquiry in their respective districts. And the rolls returned by the collectors of the land tax, show that they are not possessed of a twelfth part of the land, which is held under your Lordship, as proprietor of Maryland." We are shown, thus, that during the one hundred and twenty-four years of the existence of the Province, there had been no in-

crease of the proportion of Roman Catholics to the Protestants in Maryland. It was still Protestant, *not* Roman Catholic Maryland.

We have yet another series of papers in the Maryland archives, of no little interest, not as showing so much the comparative numbers of the Established Church with the other Denominations, which it nevertheless does to some extent show, but its comparative ability and liberality. Since 1695, three new Counties had been added to the eleven then mentioned; namely, Frederick, on the Western, and Queen Anne and Worcester Counties, on the Eastern shore.

In 1760, there was a great fire in Boston, Mass., which destroyed one hundred and seventy-four dwelling houses, and as many warehouses and shops and other buildings, which, with the furniture and goods burnt, made the estimated loss to be £100,000 sterling; \$433,000. The Governor of Massachusetts applied to the Governor of Maryland for aid, and Governor Sharpe issued his brief, now before us, to *every worshipping congregation* in the Province, with directions, that collections be taken up, and the amounts severally remitted to him. This was done, and the returns made give us the following facts:—

St. Mary's County, from its 4 parishes, with 4 Clergymen, sent	(sterling,)	146	13	0
“ “ “ 4 Romanist Clergymen, sent		31	13	0
Charles County, from its 4 parishes, having 4 Clergymen, sent		128	05	11
Charles County, from its 2 Romanist Clergymen,		45	19	3
Prince George Co., from its 3 parishes, having 3 Clergymen, sent		196	16	9
Frederick Co., from its 2 parishes, having 2 Clergymen, sent		56	1	6
“ “ the Presbyterians, sent		9	3	7
“ “ the Dunkers, - - -		6	0	0
“ “ the Lutherans, - - -		4	16	0
Calvert Co., “ its 2 parishes, having 2 Clergymen, sent		54	3	5
Ann Arundel Co., from its 5 parishes, having 4 Clergymen, sent		127	9	5
“ “ “ the Quakers, sent - - -		92	5	0



	£	s.	d.
Baltimore Co., from its 4 parishes, having 4 Clergy-			
men, sent - - -	142	14	9
“ “ the Quakers “ - - -	23	19	0
“ “ the Baptists “ - - -	7	0	0
“ “ the Romanists “ - - -	2	17	6
Cecil Co., from its 2 parishes, having 2 Clergymen, sent	53	9	4
“ “ the Presbyterians sent - - -	25	11	0
Kent Co., “ its 2 parishes, having 2 Clergymen, sent	72	18	1
“ “ 3 Quaker meetings, sent - - -	18	0	0
“ “ the Presbyterians, “ - - -	2	2	6
Queen Anne Co., from its 4 parishes, having 4 Clergy-			
men, sent - - -	120	18	8
“ “ “ the Presbyterians, sent - - -	10	2	6
Talbot Co., from its 2 parishes, having 2 Clergymen,			
sent - - -	232	19	7
Dorchester Co., from its 3 parishes, having 3 Clergy-			
men, sent - - -	123	16	2
Somerset Co., from its 3 parishes, having 3 Clergymen,			
sent - - -	109	0	6
“ “ the Presbyterians, sent - - -	43	3	1
Worcester Co., “ its 2 parishes, having 2 Clergymen,			
sent - - -	61	17	0
“ “ the Presbyterians, sent - - -	19	12	0

Thus from the 14 Counties,

The Church, from its 42 parishes, having 41 Min-			
isters, sent - - -	1,503	7	11
The Quakers sent - - -	134	4	0
The Presbyterians, - - -	107	12	2
Six Romanist Priests—5 contributions, sent	76	0	9
The Baptists sent - - -	7	0	0
The Dunkers sent - - -	6	0	0
The Lutherans sent - - -	4	16	0
Making nearly \$9,000 in all, or	£1,839	0	10

The other denominations than the Church, sent £315 12 11 of this amount.

It will be seen that while, since 1700, the increase of Counties had been only three, that of the parishes had been twelve.

The next statement we give is from Mr. Eddis, dated April 2, 1772, then Surveyor of Customs, residing at Annapolis. Writing to a friend in England, he says, “their number [the Romanists] are at present very inconsiderable, and their influence of no weight in the concerns of the Province.”

More testimony, indeed, might be presented, concurring with what has now been brought forward. But this is deemed sufficient to sustain the fact, that Maryland never was "Catholic Maryland," notwithstanding the slang of our School Histories, and speeches of politicians. We have here, all these documents, running through a period of one hundred and thirty-five years,—documents which have never been impeached, never contradicted, all telling the same story.

As a fitting *appendix* to the foregoing, we conclude this paper with the following extract from the speech of Governor Hart, to the General Assembly of Maryland, in 1720, copied from its proceedings.

"Gentlemen:—The pretence of the Romanists that Maryland was granted as an asylum to them, from the rigor of the penal laws in England, is a position of theirs which has long amused the world. It was an imposition. For they cannot have a better right, than what the Charter admits them to, and, in my opinion, there is so far from a provision made therein that the government should be in their hands, in any degree, that there is not an exception made for the exercise of their Religion. 'It hath been affirmed, that Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, published a declaration, inviting all persons that believed on the name of Jesus Christ, to settle and inhabit this Province, promising them equal privileges. Yet I presume it will be admitted, that noble Lord could not give greater powers than he had.'

"For, after all the privileges mentioned in the Charter, toward the conclusion, there is this provision made, namely:—"provided always, that no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which God's holy and truly Christian Religion, or the allegiance due unto us, our heirs and successors, may in any wise suffer any prejudice or diminution.' The Charter was granted by King Charles the First, who was a Protestant, and certainly could not intend the proviso for any other Religion, than that of which he was a zealous professor. But to make this the more evident, it is expressly stipulated in the body of the Charter, that all churches, chapels, and oratories, be dedicated and consecrated according to the Ecclesiastical law of the kingdom of England. This so well explains itself, that it wants no comment. I am only surprised, from what latent cause the Papists derive any privileges here, beyond what the connivance of Government may indulge them in.

"In reply, the Lower House of Assembly said:—"We know of no legal right they [the Papists] have to any more than they enjoy,'" &c.

This, it may be remembered, was the publicly expressed and received view of those in the highest places of authority in Maryland, one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

THE

# Maryland Historical Society

AND THE

## Peabody Institute Trustees.

---

### A REPORT

FROM A SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

Read and Adopted at the Society's Monthly Meeting,

*March the 5th, 1866.*

---

BALTIMORE:  
PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & CO.  
No. 182 BALTIMORE STREET.  
1866.

*At a meeting of the Maryland Historical Society, held in its hall, in the Athenæum Building, on Thursday night, 5th of March, 1866, the following Report and Resolutions were presented and read to the society, on behalf of the committee, by Mr. Brantz Mayer.*

*On motion of Mr. J. Saurin Norris, the Report and Resolutions were unanimously adopted, and five hundred copies ordered to be printed.*

## REPORT:

THE letter of the Trustees of the Peabody Institute, dated 12th of February, 1866, to the Maryland Historical Society which was referred to this Committee by our last monthly meeting, has been considered by the undersigned who present the following as the result of their deliberations:

Early in the year 1857, Mr. George Peabody, of London, then in Baltimore, prepared and published a letter addressed to certain Trustees, dated 12th of February of that year, by which he created the Peabody Institute, supplied ample funds for the erection of a building as well as for the clearly defined purposes of the Institute, appointed twenty-five Trustees and their successors to put it in operation, gave this Society free quarters in the contemplated edifice, and constituted it administrator of the trust.

This letter was presented to the attention of the Society on the 5th of March, 1857, at our regular monthly meeting by Mr. John P. Kennedy, a Trustee, then and now a vice-president of the Maryland Historical Society, and, at present, also President of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Institute, but for some months past absent from Baltimore.

Our Society promptly accepted the administration confided to it, after full explanation of Mr. Peabody's designs by Mr. Kennedy, who, it was understood, had drawn up Mr. Peabody's letter under his personal instructions, and was, therefore, best qualified to expound it. In his explanatory speech, at our meeting, Mr. Kennedy defined our relations with his usual clearness, stating frankly that it had been Mr. Peabody's design

to give the whole charge to this Society; and that it was simply from the possibility that our Society might, at some time hereafter, cease to exist, that he interposed the Board of Trustees, giving them custody of the money and bestowing certain visitatorial powers, while he entrusted the entire administration to us. That is the recorded interpretation given by the present President of the Board of Trustees—our Vice-President—when he was fresh from the side of Mr. Peabody, and had just completed the draft of his letter.

Almost simultaneously, on the 4th of March, 1857, Mr. Peabody, then in Charleston, South Carolina, executed a deed of trust confirming his letter; and “in addition to, but not in derogation of” its directions, he declares in this instrument—that “if from any cause, whatever, of which my said Trustees, their associates and successors shall be the exclusive judges, there shall be a *failure* on the part of the Maryland Historical Society to undertake and prosecute the functions I have indicated in my said letter, as hereafter to be confided to it, then, and in that event, and unless they see fit to assume the functions themselves, I hereby declare it to be the duty of my said Trustees, their associates and successors, and they are hereby authorized, to select some other agency competent in their judgment to carry out my views in the premises.” This clause, which, it will be observed, is “not in derogation” of the powers conferred on us, simply provides for an emergency, which, as far as your Committee is advised, this Society has never had an intention to contrive or produce.

In furtherance of his bounty, Mr. Peabody empowered the Trustees to obtain an Act of Incorporation from the Maryland Legislature; and, accordingly, an act was procured, setting forth the Letter and Deed of Trust. The Trustees at once purchased a large quantity of ground and erected a building on a part of it after

consultation with this Society as to the apartments designed in the plan, for our use and occupation. In January, 1860, three years after Mr. Peabody's Plan was first announced to and accepted by us, the Trustees proposed, at a special meeting of our Society, a printed Plan of *Organization* drawn up and published by them, which, after debate, was adopted by resolutions recorded in our minutes.

It is well known that several efforts have since then been made by us to communicate with the Trustees in regard to the assumption of our duties. It is, also, notorious that the buildings of the Peabody Institute have been completed and ready for use for about four years, but that no invitation has been given to this Society, in conformity with Mr. Peabody's plain intentions, laid down in his Letter and re-asserted in the Plan of Organization by the Trustees themselves, in the following explicit language:—"when the building is ready for the accommodation of the Maryland Historical Society, that body shall be invited to move into and take possession of the apartments designed for its use, and accept the duties assigned to it by the Letter of the founder."

The Letter, the Deed of Trust, the Act of Incorporation, and our acceptance of the administrative trust, are, therefore, to be considered as conclusively defining and vesting our rights and powers in regard to the Institute, while the failure of the Trustees to invite us to occupy our apartments after the long, well known completion of the building and after an equally long and patient submission on our part, has induced the Society to appoint this Committee to confer with the Trustees. Hence the letter addressed to them by this Committee on the 10th of January, 1866, reported to the Society at its last monthly meeting, in which we reviewed the subject, demanded the right to occupy the completed apartments

built for us, and respectfully asked whether the Trustees were prepared to give us the administration of the Institute.

We are sorry to say that our courteous letter produced no direct reply to us from the Trustees, yet, received an unsatisfactory response, over our heads, addressed to the Society. In this answer the Trustees announce what they style their "determination," in the following sentence: "We have come to the conclusion, for reasons which we think deeply founded in the welfare of the Institute, that the management of its several departments by your body, which was instituted for an entirely different end, will not be promotive of the objects which the munificent founder of the Institute had in view."

Let us consider this rebuff patiently, notwithstanding its arrogance in differing wholly with the *directions* and well known wishes of Mr. Peabody in regard to this Society. What justification is offered by the Trustees of themselves, in the eyes of Mr. Peabody, whose judgment is thus abruptly spurned? Let us quote the only important passage in the letter which seems to deal logically with the subject. Our "chief reason," they continue, "for this well considered opinion, is, that the administrative duty of conducting the Institute should be confided to a more limited number than your body or its committees, chosen as they must be from a number liable to great fluctuations, and whose easy terms of membership may be availed of, at any time, to produce hasty and inconsiderate changes, and thus bring about a conflict of opinion between you and the managing authority, which is so much deprecated in the letter which is the guide of both of us."

This is "the chief reason" assigned, and we have sought for other and better ones in this letter of the Trustees without success. If it is "a reason" at all,



whether "chief" or minor, it is a timid and inaccurate one, provided it is "frankly" given. Can the alleged possible "conflict of opinion," which is but the fancied fear of an improbable occurrence, really affect the minds of practical persons? What "different end" has our Society from the Peabody Institute? Both are literary, artistic, and scientific bodies; both possess and contemplate the increase of valuable libraries; both propose communication with the public; and, in truth, the variance exists solely in the fact that the Institute is an expansion of the best purposes of this Society, super-added to its historical character. Can the Trustees, we respectfully ask, be entirely candid when they virtually tell us that they cannot trust a Society of which most of them are members—of which Mr. Peabody is a member, in which any three of them may, by that number of black-balls, reject a proposed member—of which their President is and has been for nearly twenty years our Vice-President—of which their Librarian is one of our most respected and heeded associates—of which their Treasurer and Secretary are, also, active members—and, in fine, a Society which is so tied up by the mutually adopted Plan of Organization that it cannot appoint an officer from its body, for the administration of the Institute, without the scrutiny and confirmatory acceptance of the Board of Trustees?\*

Your Committee, therefore, does not take much heed of this alleged "chief reason" for our rejection, especially as we have not only the written, but the printed endorsement of our Society by these very Trustees, in 1860, as superlatively proper for the duties assigned to us.

\* See page 9 of the printed edition of the Plan of Organization, section §. EXTRACT—  
 \*\* "The Historical Society shall nominate such person as it may deem qualified for the office, and submit such nomination to the Board of Trustees, who shall confirm or reject the same. The same person shall not be nominated more than twice, unless requested by the Board; and the process of nomination shall be repeated until an appointment shall be agreed on," &c., &c. *Thirteen* of the present twenty-five Trustees of the Institute are members of the Maryland Historical Society.

Permit us to recite the certificate of character given to us by them on page 11 of the Plan of Organization, published in 1859-60.

“The Committee” (of the Trustees) “do not apprehend that the occasion will ever arise when these powers” (the visitatorial), “will be called into service for any other purpose than that of harmonious and effective co-operation with the administrative body. The high character of the Historical Society, its intelligent appreciation of the value of the benefaction of Mr. Peabody, and the ability and zeal with which it is enabled to contribute to the conduct of the functions assigned to it, forbid a surmise of any possible mis-carriage in the faithful administration of the Institute during the present generation of its membership; whilst the system of its organization, as well as the inducements it must ever hold out to attract the good will and participation of the most worthy and cultivated individuals of our community, furnish a no less reliable guaranty of its devotion to the success and beneficent service of the Institute.”

Your Committee think it will be difficult to match in literary history so direct a contradiction of opinion as these two utterances of the Trustees of this Institution. We are, also, at a loss to recommend which of them should be considered a “frank” avowal of judgment as to the character and capacity of this Society—present or future; and, accordingly, we have no hesitation in saying that the “chief reason” for our present rejection by the Trustees is unworthy of consideration. Neither will the Committee concern itself about the “*determination*” of the Trustees, (independent of its “reasons,”) or with any opinions of Mr. Peabody, produced by impressions made in communications of an “indirect” character, as stated in the letter of the Trustees to Mr. Peabody, a copy of which was forwarded

with their reply and read at the last meeting of the Society. Mr. Peabody's scheme and institution were set forth and incorporated by our Legislature nine years ago, and they are no longer the Trustees' or Mr. Peabody's property to deal with. The Institute is the creature of law. Hence, the reference, by the Trustees, of the subject to Mr. Peabody, especially without the previous assent, knowledge, consultation or desire of this Society, is not only indelicate and arrogant to our benefactor and ourselves, but manifestly illegal, and calculated, by indirect means, to attempt to disgust us into a voluntary withdrawal from the scheme. This accomplished, the contingency provided for in the Deed of Trust will have occurred, and the Trustees themselves will at once, doubtless, "assume the functions" of administration as well as of organization, and thus become the sole and undisputed masters of the Institute.

We do not feel it necessary to enter into a defence of the capacity and worthiness of this Society to become the administrator of Mr. Peabody's bounty to Baltimore. Our history is well known to this community for the last twenty-three years. It needs no vindication. The Society of 1866 is the same Society that it was in 1857, (the date of Mr. Peabody's Letter,) with the same constitution, incorporation, laws, and system of admission or exclusion of members. Of course, some of our members in 1857 are dead, and some have voluntarily left us, while a recent infusion of, young, intelligent, educated and active men gives additional promise of renewed and vigorous life. Who have been, and who are, our members? Who were the founders and builders of the edifice we own and occupy since 1848? Who were the saviors of the Baltimore Library's splendid collection of books, now in our apartments and possession? Who are the present and who are to be the future active men, of all professions and occupations in

Baltimore? Who are to become the future Trustees of the Peabody Institute, itself, for, alas! the present ones are not immortal? Each of these questions is to be answered by finding all these persons, or at least the large majority of them, members of the Maryland Historical Society, and all, as their age or opportunities permit, more or less active and interested in it and in the material and intellectual progress of Baltimore.

We might pause here, but there is another suggestion made, at the close of the Trustees' letter, why we should not, at least now, be admitted to occupy any part of the Peabody Institute's edifice, and, it is because the library purposes of the Institute demand the rooms originally designed for this Society.

In our letter of 10th January, 1866, we, of course, assumed that the building erected was suitable for our occupation in connection with the objects of the Institute. We were justified in this belief, because it had been notorious for years that certain completed apartments were built for us expressly. It seems, however, that the Trustees have recently discovered that they are deficient in room. "When the plan of the building was adopted," they say, "the accommodation it afforded was supposed to be adequate to the requirements of the library, the lectures, and the uses of your Society. We find now, however, in our enlarged experience, that if the library be intended to realize the requirements of the founder as 'an extensive library, to be well furnished in every department of knowledge, and of the most approved literature, which is to be maintained for the free use of all persons who may desire to consult it, and supplied with every proper convenience for daily reference and study'—that the space we have assigned to it is wholly inadequate to the purpose; and, whilst in its arrangement and situation in the building it is excellently well adapted to the keeping of books, it is, in no-

wise, suited for their continuous use or study. We will, therefore, be obliged to appropriate a large part of the space intended for your accommodation to the use of readers frequenting the library, and that which would remain, if any shall remain after the liberal plan of the library shall be fully developed, would be entirely inadequate to your comfortable use. We shall, therefore, be obliged, if the original plan of management be adhered to, to provide you ample and convenient accommodation in the future extension of the buildings of the Institute."

We consider this passage, from the remarkable letter of the Trustees, so confessedly self-condemnatory, that it is fatal. Mr. Peabody's Letter of Institution was dated 12th of February, 1857; the letter of the Trustees to this Society is dated on the anniversary of that day, precisely nine years after, to wit, on the 12th of February, 1866. Do these gentlemen mean to be understood by Mr. Peabody, this Society, and the community of Baltimore, to whom they are responsible, as saying that it has taken just nine years—to a day—for them to begin to comprehend the design and scope of Mr. Peabody's scheme,—to understand and realize an idea? That, we know, is the period required by the Roman classic for the gestation of a perfect poem, but we have never heard that it was necessary for the incubation of an architectural plan. If it requires nine years to devise, and then not successfully, the physical shell of the Institute, how many will it exact to form and ripen the intellectual kernel? Who, of this generation of Baltimoreans, can reasonably expect to enjoy the fruition? What "*enlarged* their experience?" The facts are exactly the same in 1866 that they were in 1857. Do they mean to tell Mr. Peabody that the idea he conceived was too large for the means he bestowed for its accomplishment? Are not these singular arguments

to present to Mr. Peabody to maintain their capacity for the duty of Trustees? Is not the answer obvious that must occur to Mr. Peabody, (as soon as he shall have read the passage just quoted,) that if it required nine years for them to begin to understand the architectural idea, (and they, then, found they had made a fatal mistake in the erected building,) how many years will it require for the Trustees to comprehend, and finally to realize, the intellectual part of the scheme which every body else seemed to think so clearly set forth in his letter? It is likely this practical man of business would be apt to consider his Trustees as very unpractical persons and unfitted for the plain and simple designs he had so long ago entrusted to their execution, and hoped to see in full, successful, operation before his death.

Denounced as we have been, directly and indirectly, to Mr. Peabody, the temptation is quite irresistible, and we hope it will not be considered improper to review the action of the Trustees, themselves, in the performance of this noble public trust. In nine years, what have they done but build an edifice which they confess is insufficient for the Institute and this Society, although, during all that time, they were possessed of ample means and sufficient ground for a building double the size of the present? They have built a hollow, inadequate house, and filled the floor of its vacant lecture room with comfortable seats, which are vacant still and have never been occupied by an audience since they came from the carpenter's hands; they have erected a library room so dark and gloomy that, they admit, no one can "continuously use and study" in it, while they have filled its walls with cases, not more than one-fourth of which is occupied by books; in nine years they have never even offered this scant collection to the reading community of Baltimore; nor has a lecture been heard, a picture exhibited, nor a note of music resounded

within the cheerless walls. The edifice has never, even, been dedicated publicly, by suitable services, to the generous purposes of the endower; and, in fact, during the four years of its architectural completion, it has stood in the heart of our city as a marble tomb of good but broken promises!

We are of opinion that the hint of the Trustees about "a suggestion to a munificence which needs no prompting," in our behalf, is not at all proper for your consideration. If the Trustees are candid in saying they feel it "indelicate" to make such "a suggestion" to Mr. Peabody at all, your Committee is really at a loss to understand how that gentleman is to avoid reading this withheld suggestion, when the withholders tell us they have already placed it in his hands for perusal! It may, probably, in the *transmitted* copy of the letter of the 12th of February, 1866, have been omitted or written in "invisible ink"; but, under any circumstances, it is not for this Society to approach, or sanction an approach to Mr. Peabody, for a retiring pension from his Institute.

After this review, which we hope will be considered, as we have intended it to be, fair and dispassionate, we might, perhaps, with great propriety recommend the Society to institute legal proceedings to compel the Trustees to perform their duty, at least in part, by placing the Society in the rooms built for us and still unoccupied. This Society has no interest in the Institute but that of the public good and a sense of duty assumed to Mr. Peabody. The scheme confers no special benefits on us as an Historical Society; and the assumption of the administration is the assumption only of onerous, extra duties which confer rather than receive an obligation. It seems just and necessary that so great a trust *should be fulfilled*, for the benefit of our city, within a reasonable time, and that if not completed,

voluntarily, the law should see to its execution. It should not rest in the hands of persons who have shown themselves incompetent, and have now the boldness to attack our trustiness and administrative capacity. But, there is a natural reluctance to do anything which might wound the feelings of our respected friend, who, we do not, for a moment, think will cast a stigma on a Society he has so long cherished. It would grate harshly on his sensibility to know that his bounty had been dragged into the courts, before all measures were exhausted to prevent the catastrophe. We should, therefore, of course, be extremely reluctant to go to law about this matter with the Trustees, even if it may ultimately become necessary, and especially as it is understood that Mr. Peabody is to be here in the course of April or May of the present year. Nevertheless, we feel it due to him, to ourselves, and to this community, eager to enjoy the benefits of the Institute, to recommend the passage of the following resolutions, which will show that we have fulfilled and are willing to fulfil our undertakings in regard to the Institute; that we relinquish none of our rights or powers conferred by the Letter, the Deed of Trust, and the Act of Incorporation; that we refrain from sanctioning the recent appeal of the Trustees to Mr. Peabody; and, finally, if necessary, that we will stand on and assert our vested rights before the courts of Maryland.

All of which is most respectfully submitted by the undersigned :

P. G. SAUERWEIN, *Chairman*,  
BRANTZ MAYER,  
HUGH L. BOND,  
WILLIAM F. GILES,  
THOMAS D. BAIRD,

*Committee Md. Hist. Society.*



## RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That the Maryland Historical Society accepted the duty of administering the Peabody Institute with no view to this Society's aggrandizement, but from a sense of respectful compliance with Mr. Peabody's wishes, and with a sincere desire to become useful, as his trustees, to our fellow-citizens.

2. *Resolved*, That this Society, having promised to undertake the functions indicated in Mr. Peabody's letter of 12th of February, 1857, and having never shrunk from the performance of the duties thereby imposed, relinquishes none of its vested rights and powers under the Act of Incorporation of the Peabody Institute, and, if necessary, but with regret, will appeal to the proper tribunals for the enforcement of its rights.

3. *Resolved*, That the Recording Secretary be requested to have all the proceedings of this Society in regard to the Peabody Institute, as recorded in our Book of Minutes, neatly copied, and that the President be desired to forward this transcript to Mr. Peabody with as little delay as possible, in order that he may be apprized of the fidelity with which this Society has sought, by amicable means, to fulfil its acceptance of his trust, and that he may be possessed of the Society's resolution to insist on its rights which are sought to be put aside by the Trustees.

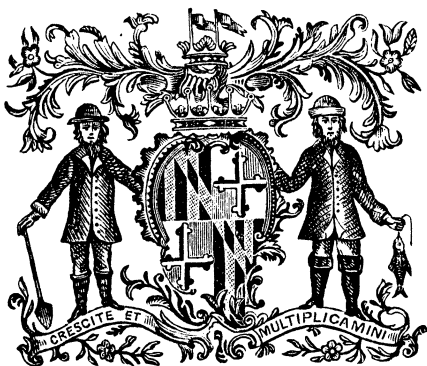


THE  
ANNUAL ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
Maryland Historical Society,

On the Evening of December 17th, 1866,

BY HON. WILLIAM F. GILES.



BALTIMORE:  
PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & Co.  
182 BALTIMORE STREET.  
1867.



## ANNUAL ADDRESS.

To live in the memory of those who shall survive us, is not to die. To be remembered when we are gone, has been an animating motive with the men of every day and of every generation. This sentiment has manifested itself in a thousand ways. It is seen in the countless efforts that man has made to blunt the iron tooth of time, and save from oblivion his name and the record of his life. It speaks to us from the magnificent cemeteries of earths mightiest cities, as from the secluded country grave-yard where "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep." It appears in all that our race has done throughout its long history, to link and bind the perishing scenes of earth, to an immortality which belongs alone to the deathless spirit. From the pyramids and catacombs of Egypt's earliest civilization; from the hieroglyphics which cover the long resting places of her embalmed dead; from the sculptured monuments and statues of Grecian and Roman art; from all that man has done in the olden time, to perpetuate his name and the memory of his life with those who should survive him, how clear and full to us is the evidence of the presence of this all pervading sentiment and yearning of the human heart. This voice, which comes to us so clear and unbroken from the dead past, is re-echoed by the living present. Else why so many journals; so many auto-biographies; so many efforts that we make to link our names to something of earth that seems more enduring and abiding than ourselves? It seems therefore to be an ever present desire in the human breast, that "although our

bodies moulder, we would have our memories live"—placed there, no doubt, by the wisdom and goodness of our Creator, that it might ever be to man an incentive to a life of active benevolence and noble action. That, as he was seeking to place his life and his character before the judgment of posterity, he should adorn them with those unselfish and noble actions which alone could assure to him the approval of that distant and therefore impartial tribunal. We can thus perceive, that this motive could not but act most beneficially in forming the characters and shaping the lives of men.

And what has it not enabled him to accomplish and endure in all the ages that are past? To escape the common fate, "*to die and be forgotten*," genius and learning are ever putting forth their mighty energies. The ambitious heart in every age, yearning for immortality, has foregone all the enjoyments of the present. It is therefore alike due to noble and unselfish action, as to our own sense of gratitude, and the yearnings of our own hearts, that the men of every day should preserve and transmit to posterity, the materials for true and impartial history. That they should preserve the fleeting records of the lives of great and good men who have been an honor to our race; and the light and joy of the nation which was blessed by their presence. This duty has been but imperfectly discharged in the ages that are past. And as a consequence of this failure, how much of the material for history and biography has been swept away by the stream of time. How much has been destroyed by the wars which have desolated our earth, or has mouldered away and been lost and forgotten. During that long night which shrouded Europe, from the passing away of the Roman Empire to the dawn of modern civilization, how many (we know not) of the manuscripts and records of that

remarkable people were trodden beneath the foot of Rome's Barbarian conquerors?

The library of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at Alexandria, contained, according to Gellius, 100,000 volumes, all in rolls. This was burnt by Cæsar's soldiers. Constantine and his successors established a magnificent library at Constantinople, which in the eighth century was said to contain 300,000 volumes. They were destroyed by the order of Leo Isaurus. In the latter part of the fourth century, the library at Alexandria was again destroyed. And we have marvellous accounts of the extent and value of the last Alexandrian Library, destroyed by the Saracen conqueror Amrou, in the seventh century. When we remember that this all took place before the invention of printing, and that of the many thousand volumes destroyed in these libraries, there were but few if any duplicate copies in the world, we can form a faint estimate of the loss that history, science and art sustained by the destruction of these valuable depositaries of the learning of the age. Archbishop Spalding of our city, in a lecture on the origin and history of libraries, says, "that it is a fact no less undoubted than it is lamentable, that the great body of ancient books has been lost. That we are not perhaps at this day in possession of one-tenth part of the standard works which were once classical in Greece and Rome. That of one hundred and forty books which it is known that Livy wrote, only thirty-five now remain. Varro, the most learned of the ancient Romans, is known to have written no less than five hundred volumes, of which but two have come down to our day. Dionysius Halicarnassus wrote twenty books of Roman Antiquities, of which but eleven are extant. Of the forty books of history composed by Polybius, but five now remain ; while of the same num-

ber by Diodorus Siculus, but fifteen have reached our time. And who that has read the charming lives by Plutarch, has not regretted the entire loss of more than half of that beautiful collection."

Such is the account which is given us of the destruction of Roman literature alone. And what a loss would it have been to the Continental nations of Europe, and the jurisprudence of every land, if the great code of the Emperor Justinian and his *Paudects* had not been discovered in the twelfth century. They had slept the sleep of ages, having disappeared in the latter part of the sixth century. For all that we now possess, we are largely indebted to the piety and devotion to learning, of that Church, which had superseded the worship and idolatry of the last Great Empire; and had erected her religious establishments in so many parts of the earth, once governed by Rome.

They had, not only in the ritual of their Church, preserved the language of that mighty people in its purity, but their monasteries were the only secure depositories of the manuscripts and works of the learned, for some five centuries; from the close of the sixth to the commencement of the eleventh century. For, during most of this long period, there were no public libraries outside the Church; and few private collections. But almost every Cathedral and many monasteries had their libraries; in which, during the middle ages, so many works of classic literature that had survived the wreck and pillage of Rome, were saved. And not only did the Church save from destruction much of the learning and literature of the old world; but to the life of seclusion, retirement, and patient industry of the monks of that period, we are indebted for the multiplied copies of the most valuable manuscripts. Some of these libraries contained many thousand volumes.



The monastic library of Novalese in Piedmont, contained more than 6,000 volumes; that of St. Benedict, sur-Loire in France, 5,000, and that of Spanheim, in Germany, had upwards of 2,000 volumes. These comprised works of all ages and countries, and on all subjects. So that when the art of printing was invented by John Guttenberg, in the fifteenth century, there were manuscript copies of many of the most precious works of antiquity in almost every country of Europe, ready to be set up in type, and sent by the magic of the printing press, over the world.

To show how valuable and extensive are some of these collections, I will only mention the library of the Vatican at Rome, founded by Pope Hilary, in the sixth century. It contained in 1848, besides 400,000 printed volumes, 80,000 manuscripts, entirely matchless anywhere else. Some of these manuscripts go back to the third century, and are therefore the earliest books known to exist. But the best and most reliable materials for history, are more liable to perish, and be lost and forgotten, than these works even in manuscript, of the learned of any age.

They are, the newspapers of the day: the letters of prominent men who take an active part in the public transactions, the pamphlets in which public affairs are discussed; and the private journals of individuals. Pitkin, in his preface to the political and civil history of the United States, says: "The numerous publications relating to individuals who acted a conspicuous part in the political scenes of this period, not only give the characters of the individuals themselves, but also furnish many important historical facts." He again remarks: "Much of the Revolutionary history of the United States, is only to be found in the private papers of those who were principal actors during that period:

and whenever the letters of General Washington, and the papers left by Samuel Adams, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, shall be given to the public, a great addition will be made to the stock of materials for American History."

Thus wrote this historian in 1828. Since which period, these letters and papers have been published; and we can now fully endorse the remark of Mr. Pitkin: Every one, we think, will arise from the perusal of the letters of Washington, with the conviction, that he had never before, truly known the difficulties and trials of that great struggle; and had no full conception of the character and ability of its matchless leader. And what a flood of light do the letters and papers of John Adams, Samuel Adams and Jefferson, throw upon the great questions which agitated the American people of that day; and which led finally to the separation of the colonies from the mother-country. If these letters and papers had been lost or destroyed, how much of valuable data for the history of that noble contest would have passed away, without the hope of ever having their place supplied. Of the proceedings of the Convention, which at a later period of our history as a nation, formed our present noble Constitution, how little was known until the publication of the notes of debate, taken by Mr. Madison, and purchased and published by Congress, in 1839. And even at this day, how much of our early colonial history can only be found in the musty and decaying records of our public offices.

From an interesting report made in January last, to the Governor of this State, by Gen. Mayer, to whom the State Papers of Maryland had been submitted for examination and classification, I make the following extract:

“The ante-revolutionary papers now submitted to me are in a very fragmentary and decayed, as well as imperfect and unconnected condition. It is manifest, that large portions of them were either entirely lost, or so injured by mildew as to have been long since thrown away. Some of the bundles literally dropped to pieces in attempting to open them.” And this might have been the condition of all our public papers, if the Legislature had not, by resolution, in 1846, deposited with your Society for safe-keeping, several bound books and many valuable papers belonging to the archives of the State. A Trust which has been faithfully discharged by the Society to the present time. If, therefore, public documents and State papers, in the archives of your Government are so liable to injury and loss, what must be the inevitable fate of that most precious source of true and impartial history, the letters and papers of prominent men of any age, if left to the chances of private and family preservation. In our young, but rapidly developing country, where our people seem to be as migratory as the Phoenicians, of old, what chance for the preservation of such relics, unless we can gather them into some safe depositories like ours, where they will be guarded and preserved. To meet this want and supply this deficiency, Societies, such as this, have been established.

Ours was incorporated on the 8th March, 1844; and its objects, as expressed in its charter, was “to collect, preserve, and diffuse information relating to the civil, natural, and literary history of the State of Maryland, and American history and biography, generally.” How well and faithfully it has fulfilled certain of these duties, let your library of historical works, your very extensive collection of Colonial manuscripts, records and journals, and your galleries attest. The catalogue of the manu-

scripts, maps, medals, portraits, &c., of the Society, forms a book of forty-five pages, and the whole presents a collection most interesting to every Marylander; and which will remain a safe depository upon which future historians may rely in their search after truth. Of the original twenty-two incorporators of this Society, I am happy to know, that now, after the lapse of twenty-two years, ten still survive, many of whom are, as they ever have been, among the most honored and useful members of the Association. Their love for and devotion to the objects of our Society, seems to have experienced no abatement in the lapse of so many years. And now, with all our valuable collections; with a library of over 10,000 volumes, of choice works, and quite full in the historical Department; with our commodious and beautiful rooms; with nearly three hundred members, composed largely of the young and the active, (who may reasonably count upon many years of usefulness,) with ample resources for all the current expenses of the association; and with a permanent fund for our publication and other expenses, the gift of one of nature's nobleman; a bright future awaits this Society, if the spirit which led to its formation, and has heretofore directed its operations, shall continue to preside in its counsels.

And is there ~~not~~ not every thing in the circumstances attending the settlement and subsequent progress of our State, to cause us to love her history and her institutions. Do not her sires in every trying hour of their country's history, challenge our admiration, and call upon us, not to permit the laurels which encircle their brows to fade, or their bright fame to be covered by the dust of time. The seeds of liberty were to be found in the Charter of our State. For it secured to those who might emigrate, an independent share in the legis-

lation of the province; of which the statutes were to be established with the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies.

Representative Government was thus indissolubly connected with the fundamental charter. Of George Calvert, who first projected the Colony, and to whom the Charter was to have been granted, Bancroft, in his history of the Colonies, says: "He deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawyers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian World, to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the equality of all christian sects." He died before he received his patent, but it was granted and confirmed to his son, Cecilius Calvert, who, succeeding to his father's fortune, carried into execution that father's intentions in reference to the colony he proposed to settle. The right of every colonist to be present either in person or by deputy, in the Legislature, and perfect religious freedom were the two memorable features in the character of the Maryland institutions. Listen to the oath prescribed for her Governor: "I will not by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." 'Tis true! that in after years, the religious intolerance which prevailed so long in the mother country, extended to Maryland, and led here to the establishment of one sect, and provision for its support by law. The General Assembly, in 1692, passed an act establishing the Episcopal Church, and dividing every County into parishes, and laying taxes for the support of its ministers. And the usual history of all State religions was not

varied in this instance. Other sects and denominations were denied the liberty of free, public worship. But these disabling statutes were soon removed, except in the case of the Roman Catholics, who remained subject to their unjust provisions until the era of our revolution. It is a sad comment upon our poor human nature, that, in a colony which was established by the members of this Church, and which grew up to power and happiness under their mild government, they alone, of all outside the pale of the Church of England, should have remained the only victims of religious intolerance for so many years. The Convention of this State which met in 1776, in the bill of rights, which prefaced the Constitution they framed, restored that religious liberty which had been the pride and honor of Maryland in its early history. Article 33, says: "That as it is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to him, all persons professing the Christian religion are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty; wherefore, no person ought by any law to be molested in his person or estate on account of his religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practice," &c. It was a great act as far as it went, and worthy of the great men who planted their Government upon such free and ennobling principles. But they left their Hebrew brethren still disfranchised. It was reserved for our day, to cancel this injustice. By the act of Assembly of 25th February, 1825, and its confirmation by the succeeding Legislature, all disabilities upon that portion of our fellow-citizens were removed. But although religious intolerance prevailed for a time in our State, there was something in the character and genius of its people, which deprived it of its worst features. No fagot and stake, no dungeons, no gallows or whipping-

post, for any act of religious worship ever disgraced the soil of Maryland. Descended from a member of that peaceful sect who found in this Colony, freedom to worship God after their simple form of devotion, I feel it to be no less a duty than it is a privilege, to refer on this occasion to that noble spirit of Christian toleration which, (with the exceptions I have mentioned,) has been the honor and the wise policy of our good State. And I commend it in all its full scope and meaning, to the men of this generation. The form of man's adoration of his Creator and the mode and manner of the worship he renders Him, should be ever held sacred and beyond the reach, not only of human legislation, but of every species of attack, persecution or censure. With an open Bible and a free press, which is our glorious inheritance, religious errors, like all others, may well be left to the domain of reason and argument. No form of religion has ever been destroyed by persecution. It has been no less eloquently than truly said, that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. If our early Colonial history be full of interest and satisfaction to every Marylander, that satisfaction and interest is deepened and increased when we contemplate the great part ~~she~~ acted in our struggle for independence. At its commencement she was ranked by Burke, an impartial observer, with Virginia, as one of the leading Colonies of the Continent. In his celebrated speech "on Conciliation with America," arguing against the policy and the injustice of the system of taxing the Colonies then pursued by the British Parliament, he said, "He must be grossly ignorant of America, who thinks that without falling into this confusion of all rules of equity and policy, you can restrain any single Colony, especially Virginia and Maryland, the central and most important of them all." And her ~~share~~ <sup>role</sup> in that

eventful struggle, did justice to the high character of their State; so that at its close, Maryland still held the prominent position assigned her by the English orator and statesman. But of the leading part taken by the statesmen of Maryland, in that able discussion of the rights of the Colonies, that war of words and pamphlets, which preceded the clash of arms, how little is known to the men of our day. How many of this generation know anything of Daniel Dulaney, the younger, and of his great argument against the Stamp-Act. In his day, no orator or lawyer was more widely known than he. And now, his name seems to have passed from the memories of men; known and remembered only by the members of his own profession who may have read his great opinions published in the first volume of our Maryland Reports; opinions considered in his day of as high authority as judicial decisions; and therefore properly appended to the reports of the earlier decisions of our Courts. And of the men from Maryland who, as her representatives, signed the Declaration of Independence, but little is known by the great body of their countrymen; who to day, are reaping the benefits of their great and heroic act. Eighty-four pages in Sanderson's biography of the signers, and a brief memorial of Mr. Carroll, read some years since before this Society, by one of its members, is all that has ever been written of them to my knowledge. And what is now known of the able statesmen of this Colony, who in 1775 and 76, discussed the great and important questions of that day, with an ability not surpassed in any of the Colonies; and who guided and directed this Colony from its state of vassalage and dependence, through the troubled waters of revolution, to its place as one of the independent States of the new Confederacy. In the several conventions which met at



Annapolis, at that eventful period we ever find prominent, the names of Chase, Tilghman, the two Carrolls, Paca, Plater and Goldsborough. They were the committee elected by ballot to whom was committed the important duty of preparing a bill of rights and form of government for the infant State. And that they and the convention did their duty well, is seen in the fact, that the form of government they then prepared, remained as the constitution of the State for sixty-two years. In the twenty-eight years that have elapsed since its repeal, we have had three constitutions formed, and it has been the opinion of many, that we have not improved on the work of our fathers. They did their work well, and gave us liberty regulated by law; the ample protection of individual rights by an impartial judiciary; and the Legislative ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> paramount power of the government, committed to a body who should meet annually to consult and act for the great interests of the State. The memory of such men we should treasure up; and we should ever feel that it is a duty we owe them, for what they did, to make their names and lives familiar as household words. In the study of their thoughts and the contemplation of their deeds, we shall find ourselves escaping from the selfishness and partizanship of the day, in our efforts to attain that noble and unselfish patriotism which animated them, and glowed in all they said and did—we should return from the contemplation of their lives, purer and better men. They were with the advance in that great struggle for freedom and the rights of man.

Before the declaration of July 4th, 1776, made in Philadelphia, was known in Maryland; and nearly a month before it was engr~~aven~~ <sup>etched</sup> and signed, these men of Maryland and their colleagues in the convention, had put forth their Declaration of Independence. On the

6th of July, 1776, the convention caused to be entered on their journal a declaration which, after a recital of their wrongs, and an eloquent vindication of their rights, closes in the following language, "For the truth of these assertions we appeal to that Almighty Being, who is emphatically styled the searcher of hearts, and from whose omniscience nothing is concealed. Relying on His Divine protection and affiance, and trusting to the justice of our cause, we exhort and conjure every citizen to join cordially in defence of our common rights, and in maintenance of the freedom of this and her sister Colonies." And when the clash of arms came, the sons of Maryland answered this appeal; and made good this declaration upon many a battle field of the revolution. And from no subject of contemplation can we derive more gratification, than from a review of the heroic part taken by the men of our State, in that war which resulted, after long years of suffering and trial, in the independence of the Colonies.

In June, 1776, the Maryland Convention resolved, that that Province would furnish a flying camp of thirty-four hundred men to act in the middle department; that is, from the Province of New York to Maryland; to be divided into four battalions of nine companies each. The convention elected the officers of the battalions then about to be raised. And on July 6th, 1776, the day the convention made its declaration of independence, Col. Smallwood, who had been elected colonel, was ordered by the convention to proceed immediately with his battalion to Philadelphia, and put himself under the orders of Congress, and the Continental officer commanding there. And also, that four independent companies from Talbot, Kent, Queen Anne's and St. Mary's counties, proceed immediately to the same destination and put themselves under the

command of Col. Smallwood, subject to the further orders of Congress. And so prompt was their obedience to this order, that on the 11th of the same month, six companies of the battalion, stationed at Annapolis, and three companies stationed at Baltimore Town, the whole under the command of Col. Smallwood, started on their march to Philadelphia. They reached the Continental army about the 1st of August, in time to act an heroic part on the bloody field of Long Island.

In Lord Sterling's report to General Washington, of this disastrous battle, dated August 29th, 1776, he says, (after describing the position taken by the forces under his command,) "in this position we stood cannonading each other, till near eleven o'clock, when I found that General Howe with the main body of the army was between me and our lines, and I saw that the only chance of escaping being all made prisoners, was to pass the Creek near the Yellow Mills; and in order to render this more practicable, I found it absolutely necessary to attack a body of troops commanded by Lord Cornwallis, posted at the house near the Upper Mills. This I instantly did, with about half of Smallwood's regiment, first ordering all the other troops to make the best of their way through the creek." Look at that little band of five hundred young Marylanders on that disastrous field, thus thrown forward as the forlorn hope, to hold in check the whole British army, numbering many thousands, to give time to their fellow-soldiers to escape. See them wheeling, and led on by their heroic leader, attacking the advancing British with unparalleled bravery. It was a contest which could result to these young soldiers, only in death or a long captivity in the prison ship; but they never faltered, and Lord Sterling says they made five or six several attacks on the British column. Washington's

eagle eye was on them, and as they rushed on he exclaimed, "*My God, what brave men must I this day lose.*" They seemed likely to drive back the foremost ranks of the British ; and when forced to give way by overwhelming numbers, they rallied and renewed the contest. They were surrounded but they still fought on ; and were nearly all cut to pieces, or taken prisoners. Nine only succeeded in regaining the American lines. I wish I had their names. They should be inscribed on the muster-roll of fame. These young martyrs of liberty should not sleep unwept and unhonored in their early graves. They should take their places in men's memories with Warren and the heroes who fell at Lexington and Concord. And time, which buries in oblivion so much of human achievement, should year after year, only freshen the laurels which cluster around their brows.

The biographer of General Greene says of him ; that he was confined to his bed in the City of New York, with a fever, within hearing of the sound of the battle on Long Island ; and that he was much disturbed when intelligence reached him of the reverses experienced by the troops lately under his command ; but when informed of the terrible slaughter sustained by Col. Smallwood's regiment, his favorite Corps, composed for the most part of young men of family, and in a high state of discipline, he burst into tears ; declaring that superadded to the amount of private sorrow, which that disaster must occasion, the cause of freedom had experienced in it, a loss which no time could repair. And at the battle of White Plains the shattered remnant of Smallwood's heroic regiment was again in the hottest of the fight, the bravest of the brave.

The organization of this flying camp was so defective in many respects, that it was disbanded in Dec., 1776, and a brigade of regular troops to be attached to the

Continental army, was raised by Maryland. This brigade was composed largely of the men and officers of the flying camp, and was placed under the command of Smallwood, appointed a Brigadier-General early in 1777. In the spring of this year, this brigade to be ever afterwards known and celebrated in history, as the "*Maryland Line*," joined the Continental army under the Commander-in-Chief in the Jerseys. They fought well at Brandywine and Germantown, though separated from their gallant leaders, Smallwood and Gist. Those two officers had been detailed by the Commander-in-Chief to proceed to Maryland; and take charge of the militia, suddenly called out to join in the defence of Philadelphia. The Maryland Line then formed into two brigades, was placed under the command of General Sullivan, and in those two bloody actions, gained for itself a character for discipline, valor and endurance, which was never tarnished in its subsequent history. It remained with the army under Washington during the years 78 and 79, sharing in all its trials, privations and patient endurance. In the spring of 1780, when it became necessary to send reinforcements to the South, the Maryland Line with the Delaware troops were selected. On the morning of the 17th of April, 1780, with the Baron De Kalb at their head, they left Morristown in New Jersey, and commenced their long march to join the army of the South. They were soldiers worthy of such an heroic leader, and well did their after history justify the selection made by Washington on this occasion. At Camden, Eutaw and Cowpens, they gained for themselves imperishable renown; and nobly sustained their early reputation for coolness in the hour of danger. On the disastrous field of Camden, after the flight of the militia, except one regiment from North Carolina, commanded by Col. Dixon, the

Maryland Line with this brave regiment of Dixon's, were left alone to oppose Cornwallis' army, surpassing them in numbers and already flushed with a certainty of triumph. Says the biographer of Greene, "this heroic remnant of the army under the command of De Kalb, Gist, Smallwood, Williams, Howard and Dixon, fought with intrepidity and desperate resolution." They could not save the day; but wrote their fealty and their devotion to liberty on that crimsoned field, with the heart's blood of the invader's legions. Their gallant leader fell, covered with wounds. Congress thought proper, after this reverse, to recall General Gates, and General Greene was appointed to the command of the Southern army. He assumed the duties of that important position on the 3d of December, 1780; and such was the universal confidence in him, and such his great abilities as a military leader, that he was soon able to resume the offensive, and early in January, 1781, he was able to dispatch Morgan with part of the Maryland Line, under Col. Howard, Col. Washington's dragoons and a few militia to take position on the British left. This movement led to the battle of the Cowpens, on the 17th January, in which the Marylanders with Washington's dragoons, bore an honorable part, and at a most critical period, by their gallantry, saved the day; and gained for their country a decisive victory. On the celebrated and masterly retreat of General Greene through North Carolina, the heroes of the Cowpens, now led by Otho Holland Williams, one of Maryland's bravest sons, protected the rear of the American army. Forgetful of themselves and bent exclusively on the preservation of those they were appointed to protect, these brave troops confronted difficulty and danger, and submitted to privation and hardship with a perseverance and a self-devotedness rarely equalled in the records of war.

They never relaxed their vigilance until Greene had placed the river Dan between his exhausted troops and the advancing British. When Greene again entered South Carolina, the Maryland Line was with him, and participated, on the 8th September, in the bloody battle at the Eutaw Springs, which closed in a glorious triumph for the American arms. General Greene, in his despatch to Congress, describing the crisis of the engagement, says: "In this stage of the action, the Virginians under Lieut. Col. Campbell, and the Marylanders under Col. Williams, were led on to a brisk charge, with trailed arms, through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musket-balls. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and firmness of both officers and men upon this occasion. They preserved their order, and pressed on with such unshaken resolution that they bore down all before them. The enemy were routed on all quarters." Thus did the sons of Maryland answer the appeal of the Convention of their State, and nobly sustain Maryland's declaration of independence of the 6th July, 1776. Of their gallant leaders how little is known by the men of this generation! Two brief memoirs by members of this society, one of the Baron De Kalb, and the other of Gen. Williams, and two brief sketches of Williams and Howard in the National Portrait Gallery, are all that have been specially done, to my knowledge, to transmit the memory of their heroic lives to posterity. Who knows anything now of Gen. Gist, or Col. Gunby, or Col. Josias Carvill Hall? And how little is comparatively known by the men who now crowd our streets of the great part taken by the brave and gallant Howard in the war for our independence. Massachusetts has been more just to the memory of her illustrious dead; she does not permit their names to be forgotten, or their sacrifices for their country to pass from the memories of

men. Our libraries contain many biographies of her distinguished men, distinguished either in the camp, at the bar, or in the senate chamber. Her sons of the present day have been in this particular just to their fathers and true to themselves. They have thus placed before the coming generations the bright examples of the lives of her illustrious men. Through these biographies they live again, and ever teach their countrymen the lessons of devoted and self-denying patriotism. Let the young men of Maryland, members of this society, from the ample provisions laid up in our archives, be as true and as just to the great dead of our own State. There is no field of labor from which they will return with a richer reward, or with more purified and elevated feelings; there is no surer way of re-kindling the fires of patriotism in our own bosoms, than by the study of the lives and sacrifices of the great statesmen and heroes of the past generation. Let memory recall the great facts attending our struggle for liberty, and the sacrifices which our fathers so cheerfully made in that day of trial; and it will do more to strengthen our love for our country than any contemplation of its present greatness; for it is ever true that historic memories fire a people with valor and patriotism. If our love for its wise and noble constitution is growing faint and feeble, let us visit Marshfield, and recall the eloquent and unanswerable defence of the Constitution by its great expounder. One of the sadest signs of the times is the fact, that for the last twenty years the old-fashioned celebrations of the 4th of July, by orations upon the acts and men of the revolution, seems to be no longer the fashion. A late writer upon the "Decline of the Roman Republic," says: "All political systems contain within them the principles of their own death; and political progress, as we call it, is only the slower road



to that end to which all human institutions, so far as we have had experience, must come at last." I would not take so gloomy view of human institutions. I would be more inclined to agree with Sir James Mackintosh, "Experience may, and I hope does, justify us in expecting that the whole course of human affairs is towards a better state." But let us remember, that when a nation forgets her illustrious dead, the shadows of decay are already falling on her.

When the war of our revolution broke out in 1776, it found a young man living in the immediate vicinity of Baltimore Town, on his own patrimonial estate, with everything around him that wealth and high social position could give to render his home attractive. But he put the joys of home and the sweet intercourse of social life aside. He turned his back upon them all for a season; for above them all he heard, and answered, the cry of his suffering country. When Maryland first called her sons to her standard, and formed her flying camps, he left his home, to be a dweller there no more until the independence of his country should be recognized, and a position gained for her amid the nations of the earth. He was then in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and the Convention discerning his merit at that early day, appointed him a Captain in the regiment placed under the command of Col. Josias Carvill Hall. This regiment being disbanded, for the reason I have heretofore stated, after a few months' service, and the seven regiments having been raised and organized by Maryland to be attached to the Continental army, the young Captain was appointed Major in the fourth regiment, under his former commander Col. Hall.

Entering the room in which the business meetings of this society are held, you will see his portrait, immediately over the full length likeness of Lord Baltimore.

His commission is dated the 10th of April, 1777. On the 1st of June, 1779, he was appointed Lieut. Col. of the Fifth, and after the battle of Hobkirk's hill, he succeeded to the command of the Second regiment, upon the death of Lieut. Col. Ford. Every Marylander who studies the history of the revolution, will feel proud and grateful that Col. John Eager Howard belonged to our State. He will rejoice that in her day of trial, she had such a son to defend her cause, and to lead her regiments to battle, and so often to victory. The division to which his regiment was attached at Germantown, behaved with great bravery on that bloody field; and around and in front of the large mansion, known as Chew's house, again and again repulsed the enemy. The house was on that day garrisoned by a British regiment; and was of course the subject of frequent attacks by the Americans, until the thick fog and smoke hid everything from view. And here I would mention one of those romances in real life which history sometimes presents to our view. This old mansion before which our young officer cheered on his unflinching soldiers to the thickest of the fight, and from whose windows the bullets flew so fast that periled his life at every moment, was to become to him in after years most dear. When the purple tide of war had swept by, and peace and independence had blessed the land, our young soldier was to seek and find in it his future bride and the mother of his children.

In the battles of White Plains, Monmouth and Germantown, he displayed that unflinching courage which ever afterwards so distinguished him. He went South with the Maryland Line, and at Camden, Cowpens and Eutaw Springs, he exhibited a gallantry and firmness which no danger could shake, and a decision of character and clearness of judgment which no complications

of battle or sudden emergencies could embarrass. He was one of those heroic spirits in whom General Greene reposed his hopes, in his noble determination to recover the South or perish in the attempt. In Howard he found a spirit worthy of his friendship and confidence, and he gave them to him in no stinted measure.

The battle of Eutaw Springs was fought on the 8th of September, 1781. Greene, writing to a friend in Maryland, in November of the same year, says: "This will be handed to you by Col. Howard, as good an officer as the world affords. He has great ability, and the best disposition to promote the service. My own obligations to him are great, the public's still more so; he deserves a statute of gold, no less than Roman and Grecian heroes. He has been wounded, but has happily recovered." He gained his brightest laurel at the battle of the Cowpens, where, assuming to himself the responsibility of the act, he wheeled his regiment and charged upon the advancing British column, superior to his own command, and at the point of the bayonet swept them from the field. And this is the first time in the history of the war, in which the bayonet was successfully used by the American troops. And on the red field of Camden, when the militia of Virginia and North Carolina had given way, and Gates had given up all for lost, and had left the field, Col. Howard distinguished himself with those who stood their ground and prevented the utter destruction of the American forces.

After the close of the war, to whose successful issue his services in the field had so largely contributed, he returned to his home near our city, to enjoy the repose and quiet of domestic life. But like his beloved Commander-in-chief, those great qualities of ardent patriotism, clearness of judgment, and firmness of purpose which had so distinguished him in the field, were no

less necessary to the civil government just starting upon its untrod path, and Col. Howard was not permitted to remain long in the seclusion of his own home. In November, 1788, he was elected Governor of this State, succeeding his old commander Gen. Smallwood. And he was re-elected for the two following years; subsequently, in the autumn of 1796, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, and remained a member of that body until the 4th of March, 1803. In November, 1795, he was offered by Washington the office of Secretary of War, which he declined on account of delicate health; and two years afterwards, when in view of a threatened war with France, Washington was called on again to lead the armies of his country, he named Col. Howard for the office of Brigadier-General. He lived to a good old age, and was permitted to see the full fruition of all his hopes for his beloved country. He lived to see the small town of Baltimore, of less than ten thousand souls at the close of the war, expand to a city of seventy-two thousand inhabitants, and beginning rapidly to encroach upon the stately park which surrounded his paternal mansion. He died on the 12th of October, 1827, in the 76th year of his age, respected and revered by the men of his native State, who had looked up to him as a connecting link between the two centuries. I recollect, as a student of law, marching with the long and imposing civil and military procession which followed his remains from his residence at Belvidere, to the Episcopal Cemetery, in the Western part of the city. When the news of his death reached the far off South, the people of the State, on whose soil many of his heroic actions during the war had been performed, shared the general grief at his loss. When the Legislature of South Carolina met in the winter following, it passed unanimously, the following

beautiful tribute to his memory. "It becomes a grateful people to cherish and perpetuate the memory of the brave and good; to remember with gratitude their services, and to profit by their bright example.

"The heroic band of the revolution who fought that we might enjoy peace, and conquered that we might inherit freedom, deserve the highest place in the grateful affections of a free people.

"Among the master-spirits who battled for independence, we are to remember with veneration the late patriotic and venerable Col. Jno. Eager Howard. His illustrious name is to be found in the history of his country's sufferings and the annals of his country's triumphs; in the day of peril and of doubt, when the result was hid in clouds, when the rocking of the battlements was heard from Bunker Hill to the plains of Savannah, when danger was everywhere, and when death mingled in the conflict of the warrior, Howard still clave to the fortunes of the struggling Republic. Of all the characters which the days of trial brought forth, few are equal, none more extraordinary. He was his country's common friend, and his country owes him one common inextinguishable debt of gratitude. South Carolina, with whose history his name is identified, is proud to acknowledge the obligation." And then, after a brief recital of his achievements in the battles of the South, it closed with the following resolutions:

"*Resolved, therefore,* That it was with feelings of profound sorrow and regret that South Carolina received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Col. Jno. Eager Howard of Maryland;

"*Resolved,* That the State of South Carolina can never forget the distinguished services of the deceased;

"*Resolved,* That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of these proceedings to the Governor of Maryland, and to the family of Col. Howard."

These resolutions present the spectacle of one State sharing in and sympathizing with the sorrows of a sister State at the death of a distinguished son, whose loss both so deeply regretted. And to show in what estimation he was held by the country at large, the President of the United States (Mr. John Quincy Adams) attended his funeral.

I have given this brief sketch of Col. Howard to show to the younger members of this Society that we have on the roll of Maryland's distinguished sons, many whose lives and characters well deserve their study, and the efforts of their young and vigorous pens. In no way is history taught or learned so well as by biography; and he who prepares himself to write of the life and character of any of earth's great benefactors, will, when his work is done, find himself with a thorough knowledge of the general history of the country or period in which his subject has lived and acted.

I have said nothing upon this occasion of the great battles and contests of our late deeply to be regretted civil war. I would not tread upon the ashes of the late conflagration. The time to write the history of the *Great Rebellion* has not yet come. All we should do is, to collect and preserve the data and material from which some future Prescott, when passion shall subside, and the causes which led to it shall be removed from the field of politics, may give the world a clear and impartial history, in which he shall "nothing extenuate nor set aught down in malice." All that I would say is, that wherever in this contest which so often divided the members of the same household, the sons of Maryland were found, they exhibited the same heroic courage which the history of our country shows, their fathers possessed in the days of the revolution. And all I think will now rejoice, that Maryland at its close stands

where she stood at its commencement, one of the central states of a great confederacy.

Maryland, land of my birth, my father's land ; may thy prosperity be as enduring as thy granite hills ; and thy justice and thy actions be ever as clear and unsullied as the streams which leap from thy mountain sides. May thy civil and religious freedom know no abatement in all the ages that shall come ; but may'st thou ever remain, "*the land of the free,*" as thou hast ever been "*the home of the brave.*"











Jared Sparks,

*Anno Aetatis XL.*

MEMOIR  
OF  
JARED SPARKS, LL.D.

BY BRANTZ MAYER.

*President of the Maryland Historical Society.*



PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY,

AND READ BEFORE ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

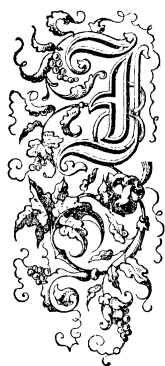
*On Thursday Evening, February 7, 1867.*

PRINTED FOR THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

BY JOHN MURPHY.

BALTIMORE, 1867.

## MEMOIR.



T has been a sad but not entirely unpleasant duty to prepare, at the request of the Maryland Historical Society, a brief memoir of one of our earliest and most distinguished Honorary Members, the late JARED SPARKS, LL.D. The duty, though sad, is not without a pleasant recompense, for the eulogium which a long-continued friendship and intercourse demand can be bestowed with cordial truth.

Mr. Sparks was what we call, in America, a self-made man. Although his life is a fair illustration of what an industrious person of talent and common sense may compass by decision of character and a high aim, my object in these observations is not to draw from his biography what has been aptly called "ostentatious precepts and impertinent lessons." By a self-made man I do not mean to class Mr. Sparks with that large and influential body of citizens whose portraits adorn the illustrated newspapers, and whose memoirs disclose the opinion

that the making of a great deal of money is the making of a very exemplary man. When I speak of Mr. Sparks as a self-made man I use the phrase in a sense of intellectual progress and success, founded on self-relying discipline,—of mental culture and mental fruit, bringing him up to honorable fame from low obscurity,—making him a lasting power in our nation, nay, throughout the world, in our best society, in our literature, in our institutions of learning; and, finally, bestowing on him the just pecuniary rewards always due, yet seldom obtained in America, by intellectual pursuits alone.

Jared Sparks, the son of Joseph and Eleanor Orcutt Sparks, was born in Willington, Connecticut, on the 10th of May, 1789. The dawn of his life was overshadowed by poverty. I do not know the character or pursuits of his parents, but certainly they were very poor; nor have I found any record of their early care over the child, or, that his youth was comforted by the love and society of a brother or sister. The most reliable account I have received of his infancy shows that he went, with the childless sister of his mother, and her wayward husband, to Washington county, New York, and that the eager boy obtained the scant elements of education at the public schools of those days; working, at the same time, on a farm for his livelihood, and sometimes serving a dilapidated saw-mill,

(his uncle's last resource,) whose slow movements afforded him broken hours to pour over a copy of Guthrie's Geography, which he always spoke of as a "real treasure."

Thus, there were no external influences to bring forth whatever powers were inborn in his character. Probably, it was in spite of those influences that he became a man of mark. His aunt, kind at all times, is chiefly remembered for her gentleness and beauty; his mother, for her devotion to reading, and mainly to the constant study of Josephus; while the grandmother of these ladies, Bethiah Parker, is mentioned as a singular enthusiast, who left to her posterity a manuscript volume of poems and letters peculiar only from the fact that, while they are vehicles of religious fervor, they are also autobiographical sketches, in which she discloses (in 1757) her prophetic visions of the "terrible times that are to come among the nations." There may have been some inheritance by the youth from his mother of a fondness for books, for he always spoke of her with great respect as a superior woman; but the probability is that the intellectual turn of his mind originated within itself, and was cherished by the affection he felt, and everywhere inspired as a boy, and the personal interest with which such a disposition is always repaid. His impressible mind was, doubtless, affected by the grand or beautiful scenery amid which his

early life was passed. He was a bright pupil of all his teachers. One of them he so soon excelled in acquirements that the honest pedagogue frankly advised him to seek an abler instructor. But that boon was not to be at once or easily obtained, for Jared was too poor to follow the master's advice; and, becoming apprenticed to a carpenter, he wrought at his trade for two years, still employing his spare time in study. He borrowed and mastered a common sailor's book on navigation. He taught himself the names and positions of the stars, and how to calculate the simpler problems of astronomy, the higher mysteries of which he also strove to unravel. For this purpose, he bought a large wooden ball, on which he marked the stars and traced the course of a celebrated comet; and finally he succeeded in calculating an eclipse. At sixteen, he seems to have lost entirely the care of his aunt and uncle, so that he was adrift in the world from that early period. But, his gentle and intellectual character had made him friends. His conduct was observed in that New England neighborhood, where such indications of worth are not only praised but protected. His employer, seeing the tendency of his mind and appreciating his talent, voluntarily released him from indenture, and his first impulse upon emancipation was to become, himself, a schoolmaster. He applied, at once, to the local authorities. The



school-committee examined and passed him; and being thus pronounced able to instruct, he taught in a small district on the outskirts of Tolland, until the scholars ceased coming during the summer, when Jared, for lack of means, was obliged to return for support to his saw and chisel.

Fortunately, however, he was not detained long at the work-bench. The story of a carpenter-boy studying Euclid and solving algebraic problems, made a stir in the village of Willington, where he then lived. Nor could the eager youth any longer study alone. Sparks became restless under the double goad of his ambition and his disadvantages, and plucking up courage, one day marched bravely into the presence of the Rev. Hubbell Loomis, an intelligent and cultivated clergyman, requesting his counsel and instruction. Mr. Loomis examined him carefully, and, taking him as an inmate of his house, taught him mathematics gratuitously, and induced him to commence the study of Greek and Latin, encouraging the spirit of independence—which was very lively in Sparks—by allowing him to shingle his barn as partial compensation for board and tuition.

Hitherto, the life of a schoolmaster had been his utmost ambition, and the trials he made satisfied him that, with his love of knowledge and desire to impart it, he would ultimately be able to succeed. The prospect of a college course had not yet dawned

on him. But, from his patron Loomis to others of greater influence the carpenter's merit spread wider and wider, until the Rev. Abiel Abbott, then a clergyman at Coventry, Connecticut, procured for him a scholarship at Phillips Exeter Academy, upon a benevolent foundation, to which meritorious pupils of limited means were admitted without charge for board and instruction. On the 4th of September, 1809, he left Tolland, Connecticut, and *walked* the one hundred and twenty miles to Exeter, New Hampshire, becoming a scholar of the Academy for two years. Here he first met, as fellow pupils, his life-long friends, Palfrey and Bancroft. He studied diligently, and made rapid progress; yet, anxious to preserve his independence, and to obtain what was necessary for his personal comfort without further tax on friends or obligation to strangers, he taught, during one winter of these two years, a school at Rochester in New Hampshire. In one of his memorandums he sums up his tuition thus: "the whole amount of my schooling was about forty months, which was the length of time I attended school before I was *twenty* years old."

But the great hope of his heart—a hope that had been gradually kindled—was at last to be realized, and, in 1811, at the age of twenty-two, through the active interest of President Kirkland, Sparks entered Harvard University, on a Pennoyer schol-

arship. Yet, the *res angusta domi* pursued him still. It is said, that, "in consequence partly of ill health and partly of poverty," he was unable to pass more than two entire years, of his four, at Cambridge. To eke out a slender but necessary income, he obtained leave of absence during parts of his Freshman and Sophomore years, and spent the time as a private teacher in the family of Mr. Mark Pringle, at Havre de Grace, Maryland. He was there when the British, under Admiral Cockburn, plundered and partly destroyed the village; and here, probably, he enjoyed the only military experience of his life, by serving, as a private, in the Maryland militia, called out to guard the neighborhood. The inhabitants, it is related, generally fled to the woods, and but few, among whom was Sparks, remained to witness the barbarous behaviour of the enemy. Fifteen months of this leave of absence were, thus, spent in our State, in the bosom of an excellent and refined family, by whose members he was warmly esteemed; and, at length, he received his degree of Bachelor of Arts, at Harvard, with the class of 1815.

His college course, notwithstanding its interruptions, was successful. President Kirkland used to say, in his quaint way, "Sparks is not only a man, but a man and a-half." He graduated with high honors. In his senior year he gained the Bowdoin prize for an essay on the physical discoveries of

Sir Isaac Newton, an essay which is remembered in the traditions of the University as “a masterpiece of analytic exposition, philosophical method, lucid and exact statement.”

This successful essay was, perhaps, the key of his life and character, for his mind was emphatically clear, exact, analytic, mathematical; and throughout his career, the same qualities were distinct in whatever he investigated or wrote. It has, indeed, been said that his merits were already recognized by the rival University of Yale, and that offers for his removal thither had been made during one of his years at Harvard; but the friendly influence of Dr. Kirkland prevailed over those allurements, and he remained constant to his patron and college.

The years 1816 and 1817 were passed by the graduate in teaching a private school at Lancaster, Massachusetts. He finished his college course at the advanced age of twenty-six, and had now added two years more to the score. At Lancaster he cultivated those habits of methodical industry which always characterized him afterwards. Soon after undertaking the school, he wrote: “I board at Major Carter’s, a mile and a quarter from my school, to and from which I walk twice a day. I rose this morning an hour before sunrise, and rode five or six miles before breakfast, an exercise which I shall continue regularly. My school

occupies six hours, and I have resolved to devote, and thus far, have devoted, six hours of the twenty-four to study." Before this, he has a memorandum of walking from Cambridge to Bolton, twenty-six miles; setting out at half-past one, and arriving at Bolton at eight in the evening.

In 1817, at the age of twenty-eight, and two years after graduation, his *alma mater* recognizing the tendency of his mind towards the exact sciences, as well as the extent of his acquirements, chose him tutor in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard. There also, very soon afterwards, chiefly under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Ware, who was then the Hollis Professor, he commenced the study of divinity, pursuing it zealously during two years, being, at the same time, the "working editor" of the North American Review. Its numbers from May, 1817, to March, 1819, inclusive, were edited by him. In May, of the latter year, at the age of thirty, he was called to Baltimore and ordained in this city as the first pastor of the Unitarian church which had just been erected. On this memorable occasion, the Rev. Dr. William Ellery Channing preached that discourse in exposition of the Unitarian faith, which has been so widely celebrated, published, and read in America and Europe: a discourse which is said to have "caused more

remark on its theological views, while more controversy grew out of the statement of doctrines therein declared, than any single religious discourse in this country ever occasioned."

As clergyman of this congregation, Mr. Sparks remained a resident of our city for four years. He is well remembered in the families of his own church and of other religious societies, among whose members his firm but genial manners always made the studious and estimable gentleman a welcome guest. He was a steadfast laborer among his congregation; but the ultimate literary drift of his life was already beginning to develop itself, having probably received an impetus from his editorial task on the *North American Review*. In addition to his clerical duty in Baltimore, he did a great deal of work in editing the *Unitarian Miscellany*, in publishing his well-known *Letters on the Comparative Moral tendency of the Unitarian and Trinitarian Doctrines*, which drew on him the controversial notice of that renowned champion, Dr. Miller, of Princeton, and produced a discussion, which, instead of estranging the combatants, strengthened their personal relations, and increased their mutual confidence and respect. In after years, when Mr. Sparks required a *Life of Jonathan Edwards* for his *American Biography*, he selected Dr. Miller to write it, and, in the truly liberal spirit that

always governed his editorial labors, and, indeed, his whole literary life, published the memoir of the great Calvinist "without the alteration of a single word." It was here, too, in Baltimore, in consequence of a sermon against Unitarianism by the late Rev. Dr. Wm. F. Wyatt, of St. Paul's, that Mr. Sparks published his volume of Letters on the Ministry, Ritual, and Doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It was in Baltimore, in 1822, that he arranged and began the republication of Essays and Tracts in Theology by Wm. Penn, Bishop Hoadley, Newton, Whitby, Evelyn, Locke, and others. It was in Baltimore, also, during his religious ministry, that he received the flattering tribute from Congress of being elected its Chaplain. This was a great honor, won in ten years, by the Harvard student of 1811; and although his election alarmed the clergy and laity of other Christian denominations, and a member of Congress declared they had "voted Christ out of the House," still, in time, Congress learned to know him better, to admit the tolerance of his catholic spirit, and to honor him with increased confidence. But, in 1823, after four years of labor in our city, Mr. Sparks's health became so much impaired that he resolved to retire from the Church entirely, and devote himself exclusively to literature. Yet, he always loved Baltimore; he always met the people with

warmth, and recurred joyfully to the happy years he spent in Maryland as teacher and minister. At the beginning of the late rebellion he wrote to me concerning an address published by one of our patriotic citizens: "I could not," said he, "but approve most highly its candor and independent tone, and the enlightened and just views it presented of our public affairs. It furnished a demonstration that there were brave spirits and true in your city, notwithstanding the misgivings which many, in this quarter, had, at that time, begun to indulge. Most heartily do I wish prosperity, good fortune, and success to Baltimore. With no place have I more deeply cherished associations. May peace, quiet, and brotherly sympathies prevail within her borders." And again, at a later day, he wrote in the same strain of affectionate memory of our city and its people: "I take a lively interest in all that concerns Maryland both present and past. I have not forgotten that my home was once there. I have many and deeply cherished recollections of Baltimore, which will remain in my heart and mind while the power of memory continues to act. The order of Providence and strange events have produced changes, *but it is Baltimore, still.*" Such were the sentiments of this excellent man towards our state, and city, and people. They continued to be cherished by him



to the last hour of his life, and were warmly repeated to me in one of the last letters he ever wrote, received but a day or two before his death. He left Baltimore reluctantly; his congregation parted with him painfully, and its farewell letter, written and signed by the late Chancellor of our state, Theodorick Bland, bears the most honorable testimony to the success of his pastoral labors.

Yet, probably, it was not ill health alone that determined Mr. Sparks's removal to Boston. I think he had already set his heart on the great themes of National History, and resolved, if possible, to pursue the work faithfully by the acquisition of the vast and scattered materials it needed. Upon his arrival in Massachusetts in 1823, he purchased the *North American Review*, and became its sole editor from January, 1824, to April, 1830. In these seven years his industrious pen contributed no less than fifty articles, many of profound study, and all adding to the solid critical literature of America. It was in 1828 that he made his first elaborate biographical essay in the attractive *Life of John Ledyard, the American Traveller*. About this time, too, good fruits were borne to him by his previous residence in Baltimore and the acquaintance he had made with the illustrious men who, in those days, were found every winter

in Washington. In that city his worth had been recognized by the descendants of prominent revolutionary personages, by leading legislators and public functionaries from the several States, and, particularly, by such persons as Chief Justice Marshall, the biographer of Washington, and his nephew Bushrod Washington and Mr. Justice Story, both, at that time, Associate Judges of the Supreme Court. Thenceforward, the idea that had taken possession of his mind on the temporary failure of his health at Baltimore—"the city of noble souls, of large-hearted men," as he was wont to call it—became the ruling purpose of his life. He was to run the career of a man of letters, and in a country hardly ripe for literary production. American history was to be his occupation; all things else became subservient to this great purpose. He had conceived the project of collecting the correspondence of Washington, and of gathering all the accessible documents in this country and Europe necessary for an authentic life of the great chief. On his first application for the Washington manuscripts, which Mr. Justice Bushrod Washington had intended to edit, Mr. Sparks was told, much as he was respected, he could by no means have them. Yet, his journal of that date has no complaining, despondent mention of the rebuff, for, on that very day he set forth from the city of Washington on

his journey to the South, in quest of other materials; and, with a light, confident, indefatigable spirit, went on patiently collecting them from public and private sources, everywhere finding profitable work, and, with marvellous keenness and sagacity, choosing and appropriating whatever he should want for the great task which it was his destiny to accomplish. Our archives at Annapolis, scant and neglected as they unfortunately are, still bear marks of his diligence; and, years after his task was completed in our State House, I have found, among our documents, the frequent traces of his minute and accurate labors. This, I am told, was a life-long trait of his preparation, for he always provided himself with every species of preliminary information which could lead to what he did not possess, in case, at some future day, it might become useful or necessary. His memorandums, therefore, were copious and explicit. Indeed, he became so familiar with the archives of the several States, that from his study in Massachusetts, he could readily, without a fresh journey, command the desired documents, and always indicate the department, and, generally, the shelf, book, or bundle in which the coveted manuscript was to be found by his correspondents. And, so he went on cheerily from state to state and family to family, increasing his

national treasures, until, at last, the richest of the American collections was yielded to him by the Washington family and the government. The manuscripts at Mount Vernon—the entire correspondence of Washington and his papers—arranged by him in more than two hundred folio volumes; the state papers of the “old thirteen,” and the private papers of many of the civil and military leaders of the Revolution, were opened to his inspection, and some of them actually placed in his possession for ten years, while engaged in the composition of his great work.

This would have been anxious labor even for a man of leisure, robust health, and a fortune that secured him from all care for present support or comfort. But Sparks was still poor, and, while engaged in this expensive preliminary task of mere accumulation—a task that might produce profitable results after many years—he was also obliged to provide for the needs of the passing day. His ready talent and economical habits enabled him to do it.<sup>1</sup> Nor did he rest satisfied with what he found in the United States or could gain by correspondence from abroad. He went to Europe to complete his researches; and the na-

---

<sup>1</sup> He good-humoredly described himself as “dependent on his wits and daily exertions for a living; and this, too, with small abilities for making, and still less for keeping, *money*.”

tional and private archives of France and England, which had hitherto been closed to American students, were soon unlocked for him through the personal solicitations in his favor of Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Hamilton, Lord Landsdowne, and Lord Holland, in Great Britain, and of General Lafayette, Monsieur Guizot, and Monsieur de Marbois in France;—another proud achievement by the charity student of 1811. I may add here, at once, that Mr. Sparks paid a second visit to Europe in 1840, in order to examine its archives; on that occasion, discovering, in the French cabinet, the original letter of Franklin and the famous map with our North-eastern boundary delineated by a “red line,” which were so much discussed in the subsequent negotiations with Great Britain in regard to our limits in that quarter.

The first fruits of these domestic and foreign studies was Mr. Sparks’s valuable publication, in 1829–30, of the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*; followed, after two years, by the *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, with selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers. In 1830, he originated and edited that excellent annual, so long a favorite in our country, known as the *American Almanac*; and, about the same time, he began his *Library of American Biography*, extending, in two series, to twenty-five volumes, for which

he composed the charming biographies of La Salle, Ribault, Pulaski, Benedict Arnold, Father Marquette, Charles Lee, and Ethan Allen.

Meanwhile, his attention to the great work—the Life and Writings of Washington—never flagged. Of course, the labor of careful selection, arrangement, and illustration was immense. His apartment in Ashburton Place, Boston, was covered from floor to ceiling with volumes and packages; nor did he ever leave it until his completed task of ten or twelve hours' work, freed him, after night, for a healthful walk and a refreshing visit to friends. Ten of these busy years were thus spent in the preparation, printing, and publication of the Life and Writings of Washington, which was finally given to the world, volume by volume, between 1834 and 1837, in twelve stout octavos, at a cost, I understand, of about one hundred thousand dollars. In 1840, appeared his other great national book, the Life and Works of Franklin, in ten massive octavos, comprizing, among other valuable papers discovered by him, no less than two hundred and fifty-three letters of the philosopher, never before printed, and one hundred and fifty-four not included in any previous edition. To this superb collection he added the "Life" as far as it had been written by Franklin himself, and continued it, from his own materials, to the patriot's death.

In seventeen years, and at the age of fifty-one, he had won the highest honors of literature, and the right to have his name linked forever, throughout the world, with the names of Franklin and Washington. Nor were these honors less dear to him when he reflected that he had reached the mature age of thirty-four before he had *a real purpose in life*, and that, in spite of adverse fortune, he had accomplished his designs by the force of character, by self-denial and indomitable industry.

In 1852-3, occurred the singular controversy between Lord Mahon, Mr. W. B. Reed, and Mr. Sparks, in regard to the manner in which the latter had edited Washington's Writings. It was conducted by our late colleague with good temper and success. He vindicated his facts and plan from all assaults, foreign and domestic, and was, doubtless, vastly aided by the exact method with which his letters, documents, and references had been arranged for his great work. For, *preparation* was, at once, his task and his strength. He always wrote rapidly and alone, without the aid of an amanuensis, as soon as he was prepared to compose. He then worked with great perfection and ease to himself, because the materials were not only at hand but thoroughly digested. When asked how long a time would be required by him to make an abridgement of his Life of Washington, while he was still busy with his Franklin, his

reply was, "No time!" and the printer never waited for him a moment, so keen and clear were his decision and sense of proportion.

In 1854, he published the Correspondence of the American Revolution, in letters from eminent men to General Washington from the time of his taking command of the army to the end of his Presidency. This valuable addition to his historical series was prepared from the original MSS., and terminated Mr. Sparks's important contributions to our national stores. It has been said that he contemplated a History of the Foreign Diplomacy of the Revolution, and it is quite certain that he intended to write a HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION, itself, preceding it, probably, by several volumes on our Colonial history. As I heard Mr. Irving once say that the biography of Washington was not a task to his liking, for "he had no *private* life" to give it the personal interest essential to secure the reader's sympathy; so it may truly be said, from the constant publicity of the Chief's career, that his life, during most of it, was the life of his country. Nevertheless, Mr. Sparks felt that it was, in truth, biography and not history, and he sought a more extended field, for which he considered his powers to be, as doubtless they were, entirely equal. His collection of materials for this purpose was rich, completed, and bound in vol-



umes; but his noble intention was, unfortunately, frustrated, and with it perished his most cherished hope. He always regretted his inability to go on with this work. All his other publications, valuable as they were, in his estimation had been but preparatory. In 1850 he broke his right arm, which was already weakened by a neuralgic affection contracted by long years of labor at the desk. This, ever afterwards, made the use of a pen extremely irksome. Under the weight of these mixed evils of nervous malady and fractured limb, his task was procrastinated; yet, his patient hope was profound. The conflict between the desire to achieve and the disability was so painful, that the subject of his projected History became a sacred one among all who were familiar with him, and, even in his family, it was passed over in silence. At times, he would look at these accumulations of years in his library, with the simple ejaculation, "sad, sad!" When others alluded to them, he had some light reply: "you are a younger man; do *you* work?" It was his great grief that the mine of golden ore was at hand, but that *he* could work no more. Yet, he never ceased to be prepared, by adding constantly to his materials; and, even in the last year of his life, he exclaimed, at times, "*I think I may soon go on!*" He never ceased to look forward to the time

when his infirmity would allow him to march once more in pursuit of what had become the "Evangeline" of his life, the only work worthy of his mature powers :

"Something there was in his life incomplete, imperfect, unfinished,  
As if a morning in June, with all its music and sunshine,  
Suddenly paused in the sky, and fading slowly, descended  
Into the east again, from whence it late had arisen!"

The rich collection he had amassed for this History of the American Revolution, carefully arranged and bound in volumes, was bequeathed to his son, ultimately to pass to the Library of Harvard University. I understand his heir has already discharged the trust by depositing these treasures in the institution where their collector designed they should be permanently preserved.

Although the life of Mr. Sparks as an author may be said to have terminated with his last original publications, he, nevertheless, did not withhold himself from an active interest in the cause of letters. He had been appointed McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History at Cambridge, in 1839; and for the ten following years, in the midst of other work, performed the duties of that chair, until, on the resignation of President Edward Everett, his *alma mater* bestowed her highest honor by electing him President of Harvard. This was the *finale* of a career of successful labor extending through thirty eight years. His Presidency was

acceptable as well as popular; especially commanding the confidence and affectionate respect of the pupils. He was no martinet, but fostered the manhood of the generation entrusted to his government. A friend who was present in Cambridge, and well acquainted with Mr. Sparks's administration of the Presidency, tells me that its peculiarity was the parental character of his intercourse with the under-graduates. After the stateliness of some of his predecessors, this bland demeanor of the new President alarmed by its supposed relaxation of a discipline which the over-nice are accustomed to enforce by a stern preservation of cold formality; yet, even the critics who considered him a little slack, did not fail to see that he won the love of all, while many a poor fellow in disgrace felt quite inclined to bless a rod which fell in such sweet mercy.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. James Freeman Clark relates a characteristic anecdote of Dr. Sparks's demeanor to the Harvard scholars, which is worthy of repetition: One of the pupils, as he left the recitation-room, made a noise derisive of a tutor. The tutor stated the fact to the faculty, with the names of several, who, if not guilty, might know the real offender. They were summoned before the faculty, and President Sparks was desired to ask them, one by one, "if they made the noise, or, knew who made it?" Dr. Sparks had previously said to the faculty that they could not expect to get the information thus, or suppose the boys would inform on their fellows; the invitation to falsehood was too great. When they came before him, Dr. S. addressed them to the following effect: "I have been requested by the faculty to ask you if you made, or, know who made, the disturbance at the close of your recitation. I state to you their request; but, if you know who made the noise, I do not intend to ask you to tell." The answers were various; till, at length, one said: "I did it. I know I ought not to have done it, and am sorry. I hardly know why I did it; yes, I should say it was because I did not like the tutor, who, I thought, had not used me fairly in some of my recitations."

For three years, the successor of Kirkland, Quincy, and Everett held the responsible Presidency; nor, in all that period of watchfulness, did he ever forget or neglect the striving, indigent students, who required a helping hand in the days of their adversity. His works had made him independent in fortune, so that, wherever assistance was needed, his was an open but judicious hand. "In the days of his prosperity," it is said by one who knew him well, "he returned to his original benefactors not only the money he had received from them, but more than the interest." On resigning the Presidency of Harvard he retired to the property he owned in Cambridge, where, in the enjoyment of society, of favorite studies, and of a large correspondence and intercourse with friends and distinguished strangers, he passed the remaining years of a tranquil life, which ended, after a short and painless malady, on the 14th of March, 1866, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. The summons to eternity was sudden; but the faith and the life of the veteran sustained him to the close. As he was consciously approaching it, "I think," said he, feebly, "I shall not recover,

---

Having told the truth, and acknowledged his fault, Dr. Sparks thought the youth should be commended instead of punished; but the tutors outvoted the others, and he was suspended. The President, however, wrote a note to his father, saying he considered it no dishonor, as young men did not often have such opportunities to show themselves frank and noble. (*Memoir of Sparks, Hist. Mag.*, vol. x., p. 153.)

*but I am happy.*" And when asked whether he was rightly understood as saying he was "*happy*," his answer was, "*certainly!*"

Mr. Sparks was twice married; first, in 1832, to Frances Anne Allen, of Hyde Park, New York, who died in 1835; and again, in 1839, to Mary C. Silsbee, daughter of Nathaniel Silsbee, a wealthy and honored merchant of Salem, for many years a Senator of the United States from Massachusetts, as colleague of Daniel Webster. Four children, a son and three daughters, all the offspring of the second marriage, survive, with their mother, to rejoice in the memory of their illustrious father.

The amount of Mr. Sparks's literary labor and its popular estimation, may be judged from the fact that more than six hundred thousand volumes of his various publications have been published and disposed of.

In personal appearance Mr. Sparks had a noble presence, a firm, bold, massive head, which, as age crept on, sometimes seemed careworn and impassive, but never lost its intellectual power. His portraits show that in his prime his face was remarkable for dignified, manly beauty. His manners were winning; and, though undemonstrative and rather reticent among strangers, with friends, he was always cheerful and hearty. He was never dogmatic, patronizing or repulsive, by that self-assertion into which superior men are too often

petted by the subservient deference of society. He had large social resources, but, withal, was modest without being shy. His character was, indeed, a perfect balance of charming qualities. Though moderate in the announcement of opinions, and too patriotic to degenerate into a partizan, he gave no timid, lukewarm support to the nation in its hour of trial. His knowledge of the world was ample; but that excellent lore did not always save him from the overreaching, so that, at one time, he lost much of the hard-earned avails of his labors, and though not impoverished, was uncomfortably straitened. Yet, he loved to be trustful and serviceable; and, what he knew, he gave cordially to friends, correspondents, and respectful strangers who approached him properly. He desired to stimulate the young by truthful approbation, and, from his recognized eminence, to bestow the "nutritious praise of veteran talent." He was never spoken of lightly. Large and active as was his *mind*, "his *heart*," unlike Fontenelle's, was not "made of his brains." He was as pure, affectionate, and charitable a man in all his relations, as he was eminent in the literature he created and consecrated to his country.

An author's life is commonly a catalogue of his works. The career of a scholar is generally uneventful, seldom possessing those stirring traits which give dramatic interest to public characters

of less quiet pursuits. Mr. Sparks was not an exception to this rule. His life is in his works; for, as long as he could work *well* he was a worker for his country.

The few and simple facts I have told of this gentle student's struggles and success, show that his labors were mostly in the field of History. But, the field of History is large and sub-divided. It comprehends Annals, Chronicles, Memoirs, Biography; and these—the essence of the past—become the elements from which an artist endowed with disciplined judgment and combining imagination, shapes the master-pieces which are properly called by the generic name, History.

It has been usual to associate the name of Mr. Sparks with those of Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Irving; yet, the qualities of these writers, as well as the tasks they set themselves, seem to me quite different from those of our late associate.

If History may be properly defined, as I think it should be—a narrative of national life, claiming the utmost comprehension of fact, date, description, biography, annals, and chronicle, woven together with brilliant analysis and wholesome philosophy,—I hope I may not be considered unjust in the opinion that, as yet, our country has but one writer who will be classed with Hume and Gibbon. This is certainly no disparagement of others, for it is,

probably, the result of extent of aim rather than of quality or power. No American, of acknowledged superiority, has yet equalled George Bancroft in the breadth of his theme, the extent of time and place covered, the variety of character, circumstance, and nationality concerned, the corresponding research, the sparkling story, and the philosophic analysis of his *National History*.

Prescott, the prince of scholars and gentlemen, matchless in the department he chose, was rather a biographer than a historian. He selected stirring epochs and their prominent men, the pivots of certain times, upon whom the affairs of two worlds turned at critical periods,—the great warders who stood at the portals of America and Europe in the sixteenth century. Thus, Ferdinand and Isabella, Cortez, Pizarro, Charles V., and Philip II., wonderfully as they revive in the books of Prescott, exquisite in accuracy, harmonious style, and enamelled finish, are but beautiful cabinet-pictures of the princes and heroes of the age. The *Life of a Nation* requires a taller and wider canvas, a bolder and broader brush. And, so it is with the historical labors of Irving and Motley, though the latter has closely approached the true grandeur of History in his narrative of the *Rise of the Dutch Republic*. Yet, it must ever remain as the highest praise of our late colleague, that, in the field of



national *biographies*, national in all their elements, he stands beside the masters on the platform of acknowledged success. He was the real pioneer in the unexplored wilderness of our historical literature. "Indeed," says one familiar with his works, "it requires considerable knowledge on the part of a reader, *a knowledge of the state of things, of the obstacles and perplexities, in the way of effort, and of the hard conditions of success, at the time when Mr. Sparks gave himself to his large and costly enterprise*, in order that his eminent devotion and success may be, even in degree, appreciated." But he brought together the dispersed fragments of colonial and revolutionary days, and made the writing of history untroublesome for authors who, in "slipped ease" and comfortable libraries, availed themselves of his labor, and patronizingly patted him on the head. These are the silk-worms of literature, whose glory is spun from the digested leaves of other men's culture. It was his habit, when allusions were made to such appropriations, to find sufficient reward in his own diligence, and to comfort himself for this "way of the world" by a patient shrug and a pinch of snuff.<sup>1</sup> Irving, in his advanced life,

---

<sup>1</sup>No candid student in lauding Mr. Sparks, should fail to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to PETER FORCE, for his vast and successful labors in recovering and rendering accessible the large stores of materials for American history and biography contained in the "American Archives."

could never have written his Washington, had not Sparks organized his twelve volumes of materials, and analysed them in the biography. That work must be *studied*, in order to be appreciated in relation to Mr. Sparks's literary merit: it is a mine of editorial tact and industry, displaying the mathematical spirit of the author in its method and organization, in its lucid statements, and in his sagacious perception of the value of what was retained and the worthlessness of what was rejected, so that Washington is self-shown to the hereafter by what he thought, and wrote, and did. The commendation bestowed on Mr. Sparks, in the masterly eulogium of Mr. Haven before the American Antiquarian Society, may be taken as a wise and exact definition of his labors in the field of History: "Not that Mr. Sparks," said he, "limited himself to the preparation and preservation of history *in bulk*; for he was equally able in narrative, in criticism, and in controversy,—he was an essayist as well as a compiler; but the last was his *forte*, his peculiar field of usefulness and eminence, where, it may be said, he reigns supreme."

This estimate of Mr. Sparks by his friend does not classify him with the annalist and chronicler who build up a fleshless skeleton of facts and dates. Nothing could be less just to the subject or the

commentator. Imagination was not a predominant quality of Mr. Sparks's mind. Its cool precision so curbed the exercise of the ideal faculty that it was unjustly subdued if not absolutely stifled; and thus we do not always discern in him that creative power, so rarely found combined with sagacity in gathering and marshalling details, which, while it apprehends the true relation of men and circumstances, masses the historic groups with picturesque effect, delineates character with intuitive insight, gives soul to the moving drama of national life, and vividly *realizes* the scenes and personages of the past. But, if he was not so brilliant in description as others, or in the majestic and harmonious march of his story, or in keen scrutiny of character, he unquestionably excelled in ample, direct, and truthful statement, so that his narrative was not only transparent in the fulness of detail, but the detail itself disclosed its philosophic lesson. No man can charge him with hasty or capricious censure. He was always the careful protector of human reputation, dealing with the unresisting and undefending dead as their advocate as well as righteous judge; reluctant to condemn by argument or inference, and never unless the proved facts were irresistible. He studiously discarded all that might either attract or detract by fancy or elaborate discussion; in a

word, he shunned ambitious rhetoric, so perilous to solid judgments, and so often giving false color to historical portraits, for he knew the risk of losing the reliable in the brilliant. In his style, he was an artless artist, if there is truth in Thackeray's observation, that the "true artist makes you think of a great deal more than the objects before you." His extreme calmness may have, sometimes, made him cold; yet, by conforming himself to plain forms of language, he always aimed to convey the absolute truth, which he regarded as the coveted prize of history. For history, to his mind, was a serious thing, not a melodramatic tale, and he wrote it as he would have delivered testimony in the presence of God. His desire was that the fact and not the form should fascinate and teach; because the fact was permanent and independent, the form flexible and voluntary. No one knew better or more dreaded the risk of biasing opinion by over or under-statements concerning the conspicuous persons of whom he wrote. If his theme was not so large as Mr. Bancroft's, he still felt that both addressed the American nation in words that were to last, concerning the founders of our political system and the Chief who presided at the foundation. What he recorded was to form the opinions of posterity, and thus, not merely to influence but virtually to become a principle of

action for his countrymen in relation to the great things that concern patriots. Enthusiastic, yet, never excited; patient, and devoid of partizanship; he had the rare faculty of writing so fairly of men of a near period that his books were satisfactory to every one, save Lord Mahon. He never wrote a sentence that was not in the interest of his whole country. He was so calmly judicial in temper, that he found it easy to convert himself into what Madame de Stael so happily called "contemporaneous posterity."

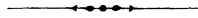
His life demonstrates that cultivated talents, independent self-respect, and industry in intellectual pursuits, not only secure reputation but fortune. It is a plea for wholesome literature in our land. Literature, though never a speculation in his hands, was, as he conducted it, a successful enterprise. His career was charmingly rounded by honor, prosperity, and the love of mankind. In all respects it was a requited life. Be it said, with reverence, that, considering the difference of their fields, there is a singular concord between the virtues and common sense of Washington and Sparks, and hence the sympathetic veneration of the Author for the Hero. If I attempted to characterize him briefly, I might say that he attained all the ends of an ambitious life without being, at any time, ambitious. He was certainly not devoid

of a love of approbation, but it was not the selfish end for which he wrought; for, with him, approbation bestowed was only a recognition of the fact that his endeavor to be a good and useful man had been successful.

“DIGNUM LAUDE VIRUM MUSA VETAT MORI.”



# Maryland Historical Society.



CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS,

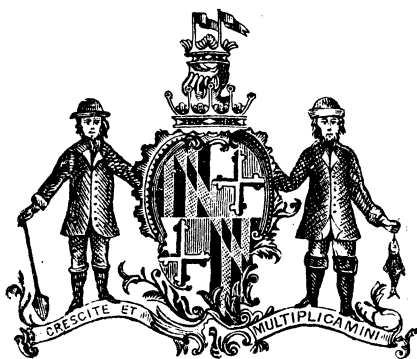
AND

M E M B E R S .





CONSTITUTION  
AND  
BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
*Maryland Historical Society,*  
WITH THE  
LIST OF OFFICERS,  
HONORARY, CORRESPONDING AND ACTIVE MEMBERS.  
1867.



PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,  
BY WILLIAM K. BOYLE,  
CORNER OF BALTIMORE AND ST. PAUL STS.  
BALTIMORE.



# OFFICERS.

---

PRESIDENT.

COL. BRANTZ MAYER.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

REV. JOHN G. MORRIS, D. D., HENRY STOCKBRIDGE,  
JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

REV. E. A. DALRYMPLE, D. D.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

THOMAS D. BAIRD.

TREASURER.

CLEMENS LAMPING.

LIBRARIAN.

JOHN J. JACOBSEN.

COMMITTEE ON HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

HON. JOHN C. KING. BRANTZ MAYER. JOHN H. ALEXANDER.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

J. SAURIN NORRIS. HENRY JANES. CLEMENS LAMPING.

TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENÆUM.

JOHNS HOPKINS. GEORGE A. POPE. ENOCH PRATT.

TRUSTEES OF THE PEABODY FUND.

J. SAURIN NORRIS. ENOCH PRATT. HON. WILLIAM F. GILES.

COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT.

PHILIP T. TYSON.

J. SAURIN NORRIS.

ED. G. LIND.

HON. HUGH L. BOND.

LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

HON. WILLIAM F. GILES.

JOSEPH M. CUSHING.

P. R. LOVEJOY.

REV. E. A. DALRYMPLE, D. D.

JOSHUA I. COHEN, M. D.

THOMAS J. MORRIS.

REV. JOHN G. MORRIS, D. D.

JOHN I. THOMSEN.

WILLIAM ELLIOTT.

REV. FIELDER ISRAEL.

THOMAS D. BAIRD.

JOHN J. JACOBSEN.

COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY.

JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

JOSEPH H. MEREDITH.

GEORGE B. COALE.

EDWARD G. McDOWELL.

J. STRICKER JENKINS.



# CONSTITUTION

OF THE

## MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

---

### ARTICLE I.

THIS Society shall be styled the "MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY." Its object shall be to collect, preserve, and diffuse information relating to the Civil, Natural, and Literary History of the State of Maryland, and American History and Biography generally.

### ARTICLE II.

This Society shall consist of Active, Corresponding, and Honorary Members.

ACTIVE MEMBERS shall consist of citizens of the State, residing in Baltimore, or within fifteen miles thereof.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS shall consist of citizens of the State residing elsewhere therein; and also of persons residing in other States.

HONORARY MEMBERS shall consist of persons distinguished for their literary or scientific attainments,—particularly in the department of History—throughout the world.

## ARTICLE III.

The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian, who shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting of the Society, from the class defined in Art. II. as Active members. Should a vacancy occur in any of these offices, by death, resignation, removal or otherwise, it may be filled up by ballot of the members present at the monthly meetings provided, for in the next article.

## ARTICLE IV.

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the first Thursday of February, and meetings shall be held for the ordinary transactions and purposes of the Society on the first Thursday of every month.

At the annual meetings, the officers of the Society shall be elected by ballot; and, at the monthly meetings new members shall be proposed and voted for.

In order to become an Active or Corresponding member of this Society, the name of the party applying or proposed therefor, must be given in writing, to the Recording Secretary at the meeting previous to the one on which he is to be ballotted for, and three negative votes shall exclude the candidate from membership.

In order to become an Honorary member of the Society, the name of the party must be proposed to the Society, at a regular meeting, by a committee of three on honorary membership, to be elected annually, at the period of the election of the Society's officers.

All Active members shall pay on admission, the sum of five dollars, and a subsequent annual contribution of five dollars. And no one shall be deemed an Active member, or receive a diploma, until he has signed the register of members, or accepted his appointment as member in writing.

The President, or in his absence, the Vice-President, or Secretary, shall have the power to call special meetings, on the requisition of five Active members; and the object of the meeting shall be stated by the Secretary in his advertisement.

The quorum for a special meeting shall consist of at least twenty members.

#### ARTICLE V.

The citizens of each County in the State of Maryland, who are Corresponding members of this Society, are authorized and empowered to form within each of their respective Counties, a Chapter of this Society, the President of which Chapter, elected by the county members, shall be *ex-officio* a Vice-President of the Maryland Historical Society.

It shall be the duty of these Chapters to meet at least once a month, at such times and places within their respective counties as they may see proper to appoint.

At these meetings, essays, local historical accounts, memoirs on the natural history of the county, or documents of interest to the State generally, may be presented, or prepared; all of which shall be forwarded to the Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society, by the President of the Chapter, together with all other collections relative to the civil, natural, or literary history of the State, in order that they may be preserved in the archives and cabinets of the Institution.

#### ARTICLE VI.

For the establishment and support of the Gallery of Fine Arts, which the Society is empowered to form, by virtue of the Act of the General Assembly of Maryland, passed 6th of March, 1845, chapter 198,—the proceeds of all exhibitions, whether annual or other, in the Gallery of Fine Arts, shall be pledged and set apart specifically, for the collection, increase and preservation of paintings, drawings, sculpture, and works of Fine Art generally, to be expended under the direction of a committee, to be called "THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY," and who shall report their proceedings to the Society at its stated meetings.

#### ARTICLE VII.

The proceeds of the annual subscriptions to the Maryland Historical Society, after the payment of the necessary expenses of the

Institution, shall be set apart for the increase of the Library, Historical Collections, and Publications; and shall, on no occasion, be applied to the use of the Gallery of Fine Arts.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

This Constitution may be amended from time to time, as the Society shall deem proper; but a motion for an amendment shall not be received, unless a notice thereof shall have been given and entered on the journals of the Society, at the last preceding meeting.



BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

---

I.

THE President, or in his absence, the highest officer present, shall preside at all meetings of this Society. Seven members of the Society shall constitute a quorum, at the monthly meeting; and, at the annual meeting, those of the members who are present, shall constitute a quorum.

The duty of the President, or presiding officer, shall be to preserve order, regulate the order of proceedings, and give the casting vote when required.

II.

The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all the correspondence of the Society;—he shall preserve the originals of all communications addressed to the Society, and keep a fair copy of all his letters in books.

It shall moreover be his duty to read to the Society the correspondence which he has sustained since the previous meeting.

He shall likewise present all the documents, essays, collections or contributions, of whatever nature, that he has received since the last meeting from the President of the several Chapters of this Society, or from other sources.

## I I I .

The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of this Society, and, at the opening of each of them, shall read those of the preceding; he shall have the custody of the constitution, by-laws and records; shall give due notice of the time and place of all the Society's meetings; and he shall keep, in books, a neat and accurate record of all the orders and proceedings of the Society.

## I V .

The Treasurer shall receive, and keep deposited in bank, to the credit of the Society, all donations and bequests of money, and all other sums belonging to the Society. He shall pay all such sums as may be due by the Society, by checks, countersigned by the President, or some member authorized in writing by the President to act in his absence. He shall keep a faithful account of all moneys received and paid by him, and, once in every year, render a particular statement of the same to the Society, which shall appoint a committee of three members to audit and report on his accounts to the annual meeting.

## V .

The Librarian shall preserve, arrange, and keep in good order, all books, MSS., documents, pamphlets, papers and contributions of every kind to the library or cabinet of the Society. He shall keep a catalogue of the same, and take especial care that no books, MSS., documents, papers, or any property of the Society, pertaining to the library and cabinet, confided to his keeping, be, under any pretext, or by the permission or authority of any officer, removed or taken from the Society's rooms. He shall be furnished with a book in which to record all donations and bequests of whatever nature, relating to his department, with the name of the donor and the time when bestowed. He shall carefully number the books, MSS., and collections, and mark them with the title of this Society, and the name of the donor or depositor.

A COMMITTEE OF TWELVE ON THE LIBRARY, shall be appointed by ballot, at the annual meeting, to serve until the election of their successors, and shall have the supervisory care of all publications by the Society, under the provisions of the 1st Art. of the Constitution. They shall, with the Librarian, provide suitable shelves, cases and fixtures, by which to arrange and display the books, manuscripts, and collections of the Society. They shall have power to elect an Assistant Librarian, whose term of office shall begin and end at the same time as the term of the other officers of the Society, to fix his compensation, subject to the approbation of the Society, to dismiss him and elect another in his place, in their discretion; to establish a Reading Room when the Society shall deem it practicable and expedient so to do, to regulate the hours during which the Library and Reading Room shall be kept open, to establish rules and regulations for the government and management of the Library and Reading Room, to appropriate for the purchase of books and other necessary expenses of the Library and Reading Room, such funds as may be placed at their disposal for such purposes; to prepare and print a complete catalogue of the Library and Collections of the Society, when the Society may deem it expedient so to do, and generally to take charge of, and control the Library and Reading Room and Collections of the Society, except such as consist of works of art, and are placed under the charge of the COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY; said Library Committee shall make a report of its proceedings to the Society, at the regular meetings in February and October, and at such other times as may be deemed expedient.

The Librarian shall keep a "Pamphlet Catalogue" on which to enter each pamphlet when received, under its appropriate class; and to affix on the title-page a number in the regular sequence of its reception.

Pamphlets shall be classified according to subjects—not alphabetically.

MSS. shall be kept by the Librarian in port-folios, and catalogued with proper references to their subjects.

All purchases of Books and Manuscripts shall be made only by the Library committee, with the sanction of the President and Treasurer.

No maps, manuscripts, drawings, engravings, or works of art, shall be loaned to any person to be taken from the rooms of the Society.

The President, Vice-President, and Library Committee may exercise a sound discretion in refusing to authorize the loan of any books, which, by reason of their value, rarity, or any other cause, they may deem unsuitable to be loaned to be taken from the rooms of the Society. And if the loan of any book shall be refused by the President, Vice-President, or any member of the Library Committee, such refusal shall be final, unless such loan shall be subsequently sanctioned by a majority of the persons filling the offices of President, Vice-President, and Library Committee for the time being. Neither shall any books *deposited* with the Historical Society, but not the property thereof, be loaned to any person.

#### VII.

The Society shall select by ballot, at the sixth monthly meeting antecedent to the annual meeting, one of its Active or Corresponding members, who shall be requested by the President to deliver a Historical Discourse at said annual meeting. And at the same time, the Society shall appoint such other exercises to accompany the delivery of the annual discourse, as shall be appropriate to the occasion.

#### VIII.

No books, MSS., or property of the Society shall be, at any time, lent to any person, to be removed from the Society's rooms.

#### IX.

Any failure on the part of a member, after due notice for six months by the Treasurer, to pay his annual dues, shall be considered a forfeiture of membership; and no person who has thus lost his membership shall be re-admitted without the strict payment of all arrears.

## X.

All vacancies in Committees by death, resignation, or otherwise, shall be filled by the other members of the Committee.

## X I.

In the event of the dissolution of the Maryland Historical Society, at any period, the books, collections, documents, and all objects of interest presented to, or deposited with, the Society, shall be returned to the original owners or depositors, or to their representatives. And if neither owners, depositors, nor representatives are to be found, then the said books, documents, or objects, shall be presented to some Scientific or Literary Institution. And further, the Librarian shall cause a label to be engraved, which shall be placed in every book, document or other object belonging to the Society, upon which it shall be his duty to write the name of the owner or depositor.

## X II.

There shall be annually chosen, by ballot, at the period of the election of officers, three TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENÆUM, conformably to the provisions of its charter, granted by the Legislature of Maryland.

## X III.

There shall annually be chosen by ballot, at the period of the election of officers, a COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY, consisting of five members, whose duty it shall be to take charge of the Gallery of Art belonging to the Society, to conduct its management, exhibitions, &c., &c., and to report from time to time, at the regular monthly meetings of the Society.

## X IV.

There shall annually be chosen by ballot, at the period of the election of officers, a COMMITTEE OF FINANCE, consisting of three members, of which the Treasurer shall be one, whose duty it shall

be to make permanent investments of all surplusses in the Treasury, bequests and donations to the Society.

## X V .

There shall be elected, at each annual meeting, three "TRUSTEES OF THE PEABODY FUND," who shall hold their offices for one year, and until their successors are chosen. They shall have the care and custody of that fund donated to the Society by George Peabody, Esq.; shall keep the same safely and profitably invested,—shall annually report to the Society the condition of the investment, and shall pay over, as received, one-half of the nett product of said fund to the Treasurer, to the credit of the Committee of Publication, to be drawn or ordered by that Committee for the purpose, and used in defraying the expenses of publishing such papers as the Society may, from time to time, order to be published; the other half of the income of the said fund, until otherwise ordered by the Society, to be paid to the Treasurer to the credit of the Committee on the Library, to be drawn or paid when required by said Committee, and to be used for the benefit of the Library of the Society.

## X V I .

There shall be appointed, at each annual meeting, by the President, or Vice-President who may be in the chair, a "COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION;" to consist of three members, who shall hold their office for one year, and until their successors are appointed. It shall be their duty to make suggestions to the Society from time to time, with reference to the publication of such papers as in their judgment should be published by the Society, and to have the care, direction, and supervision of the publication of all papers which the Society may direct to be published. All bills incurred and audited by them in such publications of papers, shall be paid by the Treasurer out of the Publication Fund in their hands.

## X V I I .

There shall annually be appointed by the President, at the meeting next after the annual election, a Committee, to be styled

the COMMITTEE ON NATURAL HISTORY, whose duty it shall be to superintend the collection and arrangement of specimens illustrating the Natural History of the State of Maryland, in particular, and of our country generally, and who shall have the power of appointing sub-committees composed of one or more members—either Active, Corresponding, or Honorary—to act as collaborators in the performance of their duties. At least once in every quarter, a report shall be handed to the Society exhibiting the condition and wants of the department.

## XVIII.

All papers, either original or translated, read before the Society by members thereof, shall be the property of the Society, and no papers or manuscripts belonging to it shall be published, or in any way given to the public, without the consent of the Society.

## XIX.

All motions to print an address, or other paper read before the Society, shall lie over to the meeting next after that, at which it is made, before it shall be in order to take a vote on it.

## XX.

All Corresponding Members removing to, and residing in, the city of Baltimore for a longer period than six months, shall, on paying the usual annual fees, be entitled to all the privileges of Active Members, and thenceforth be considered as such, so long as they continue to reside in Baltimore.

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

---

JAMES M. WAYNE.....	<i>Savannah, Georgia.</i>
GEORGE FOLSOM.....	<i>New York.</i>
CHARLES WILKES, U. S. N.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
GEORGE BANCROFT.....	<i>New York.</i>
J. R. BARTLETT.....	<i>Rhode Island.</i>
JAMES RENWICK.....	<i>New York.</i>
PROF. RAFN.....	<i>Copenhagen, Denmark.</i>
GEORGE S. HILLIARD.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
DAVID RIDGELY.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
J. S. STEPHENS.....	<i>New York.</i>
BARON FREDERICK VON RAUMER.....	<i>Berlin, Prussia.</i>
W. GILMOR SIMMS.....	<i>Charleston, South Carolina.</i>
M. CHAMPOLLION FIGEAC.....	<i>Paris.</i>
COUNT LEON DE LA BORDE.....	"
GULIAN C. VERPLANCK.....	<i>New York.</i>
ALEXANDER VATTEMARE.....	<i>Paris.</i>
PETER FORCE.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
PROF. JOSEPH HENRY.....	" "
PEDRO DE ANGELIS.....	<i>Montevideo, South America.</i>
ROBERT C. WINTHROP.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
SIR HENRY LYTTON BULWER.....	<i>England.</i>
A. CALDERON DE LA BARCA.....	<i>Spain.</i>
JAMES M. GILLIS, U. S. N.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
ALEXANDER H. H. STUART.....	<i>Virginia.</i>
GEORGE TICKNOR.....	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
GEORGE PEABODY.....	<i>London, England.</i>
SIR EDWARD BULWER LYTTON.....	<i>England.</i>
MARTIN FARQUHAR TUPPER.....	"
CONWAY ROBINSON.....	<i>Richmond, Virginia.</i>
MILLARD FILLMORE.....	<i>Buffalo, New York.</i>
THOMAS SULLY.....	<i>Philadelphia.</i>
JUAN N. ALMONTE.....	<i>Mexico.</i>
WILLIAM RODEWALD.....	<i>Bremen.</i>
PROF. GEORGE TUCKER.....	<i>Philadelphia.</i>
COUNT JULES DE MENOA.....	<i>Paris, France.</i>



## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

---

Col. Jose Arenales.....	<i>Buenos Ayres.</i>
J. Mora Moss.....	“ “
John R. Baltzell.....	<i>Frederick, Maryland.</i>
James McSherry.....	“ “
Thomas G. Pratt.....	<i>Baltimore, “</i>
Wills DeHass.....	<i>Wheeling, Virginia.</i>
Anthony Kimmel.....	<i>Frederick County Maryland.</i>
Lieut. Col. Dixon, U. S. A.....	<i>Maryland.</i>
William McCarty.....	<i>Sunbury, Pennsylvania.</i>
John B. Kerr.....	<i>Easton, Maryland.</i>
Joseph C. G. Kennedy.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
N. B. Shurtleff, M.D.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
Nicholas H. Wise .....	<i>San Francisco, California.</i>
J. Romeyn Brodhead.....	<i>New York.</i>
Edward Armstrong.....	<i>Philadelphia.</i>
John H. Rauch.....	<i>Iowa.</i>
George W. Curtis.....	<i>New York.</i>
Frederick Kidder.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
Samuel G. Drake.....	“ “
George W. Brown.....	<i>Ellsworth, Maine.</i>
Lieut. William Gibson, U. S. N.....	
Josiah Curtis.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
Peregrine Wroth.....	<i>Kent County, Maryland.</i>
Gen. Tench Tilghman.....	<i>Talbot County, “</i>
Alexander Evans.....	<i>Cecil County, “</i>
James Lowry Donaldson, U. S. A.....	<i>Baltimore, “</i>
James Lenox .....	<i>New York.</i>
Rev. Robert Davidson, D.D.....	<i>Brunswick, New Jersey.</i>
Ephraim M. Wright.....	<i>Boston, Massachusetts.</i>
Isaac E. Heister.....	<i>Lancaster, Pennsylvania.</i>
James G. M. Ramsey, M.D.....	<i>Knox County, Tennessee.</i>
Samuel W. Thayer, M.D.....	<i>Burlington, Vermont.</i>
Thomas Bragg .....	<i>Jackson, North Carolina.</i>
John G. Shea.....	<i>New York.</i>
Samuel Tyler.....	<i>Frederick, Maryland.</i>

Charles S. Parran.....	<i>Calvert County, Md.</i>
William J. Ross.....	<i>Frederick,</i>
James Spear Loring.....	<i>Brooklyn, New York.</i>
Horatio R. Riddle.....	<i>New York.</i>
John Sharplen.....	<i>Philadelphia.</i>
Henry Dutton.....	<i>New Haven, Connecticut.</i>
Charles J. Bushnell.....	<i>New York.</i>
E. B. O'Callaghan.....	" "
Prof. E. Foreman.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
R. C. Mackall.....	<i>Calvert County, Maryland.</i>
Edward W. Belt.....	<i>Prince George's Co., "</i>
E. Norman Leslie.....	<i>Skeneateles, New York.</i>
William S. Hart.....	<i>Hartville, "</i>
Chandler E. Potter.....	<i>Manchester, New Hampshire.</i>
George Wood.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
William Rich.....	" "
Edward Kidder.....	<i>Wilmington, North Carolina.</i>
George C. Swallow.....	<i>Colombia, Missouri.</i>
Florence O'Donnoghue.....	<i>Prince George's County, Md.</i>
James Banks.....	<i>Fayetteville, North Carolina.</i>
Edmund Flagg.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
J. Dixon Roman.....	<i>Hagerstown, Maryland.</i>
Rt. Rev. John B. Kerfoot, D.D.....	<i>Pittsburg, Pa.</i>
John J. Maxwell.....	<i>New York.</i>
John A. Warder, M.D.....	<i>Cincinnati, Ohio.</i>
George S. Bryan.....	<i>Charleston, South Carolina.</i>
Josiah F. Polk.....	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee, D.D.....	<i>Cambridge, Mass.</i>
Rev. Baron Stow, D.D.....	<i>Boston, "</i>
Hon. Christopher C. Cox, M.D.....	<i>Annapolis, Maryland.</i>
Prof. Samuel S. Haldeman.....	<i>Columbia, Pa.</i>
Frederick DeWitt.....	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Charles Campbell.....	<i>Virginia.</i>
Plowden C. J. Weston.....	<i>South Carolina.</i>
John Ward Dean.....	<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Henry Bond.....	<i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>
Franklin B. Hough.....	<i>Albany, New York.</i>
David M. Barringer.....	<i>North Carolina.</i>
Frank M. Etting.....	<i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>
George F. Tilden.....	<i>Castine, Maine.</i>
William E. Coale, M.D.....	<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
John R. Thompson.....	<i>Richmond, Va.</i>
Henry B. Dawson.....	<i>Morrisania, N. Y.</i>

Isaac J. Hays, M.D.....	<i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>
P. G. Van Winkle.....	<i>Parkersburg, W. Va.</i>
Rev. Isaac W. K. Handy.....	<i>Portsmouth, Va.</i>
Benjamin Moran.....	<i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>
James Hale.....	<i>Albany, N. Y.</i>
Rev. Cleland K. Nelson, D.D.....	<i>Anne Arundel County, Md.</i>
W. Noel Sainsbury.....	<i>London, England.</i>
Joseph Palmer, M.D.....	<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
Rev. N. C. Burt.....	<i>Cincinnati, Ohio.</i>
Fitch Poole.....	<i>South Danvers, Mass.</i>
Alexander Randall.....	<i>Annapolis, Md.</i>
J. W. Bryant.....	<i>Welake, East Florida.</i>

## ACTIVE MEMBERS.

---

George W. Andrews, James W. Allnut, George J. Appold, John H. Alexander,	Rev. Ethan Allen, D.D. John A. Armstrong, Samuel Appold, Christian Ax,	Abraham B. Arnold, M.D. William J. Albert, Horace Abbott.
George Wm. Brown, Robert P. Brown, N. C. Brooks, LL.D. Augustus W. Bradford, George S. Brown, William Buckler, Riggin Buckler, M.D. Charles J. Baker,	Henry M. Bash, Thomas D. Baird, Lewis E. Bailey, David L. Bartlett, Thomas C. Butler, Charles C. Bombaugh, M.D. Jerome N. Bonaparte, Thomas M. Brown,	William T. Brigham, Isaac Brooks, Jr. F. H. Boggs, Hon. Hugh L. Bond, J. C. Balderston, N. J. B. Boggs, Sebastian Brown, David T. Busby.
Geo. Buchanan Coale, Charles R. Carroll, Allen A. Chapman, Mendes I. Cohen, Joshua I. Cohen, M.D. Israel Cohen, Jacob I. Cohen, Jr. J. Mason Campbell, William C. Conine, James Carroll, Isaac Coale, Jr.	James C. Coale, Joseph Cushing, Jr. John Cushing, George B. Cole, Joseph M. Cushing, Ferd. E. Chatard, M.D. Thomas E. Coale, Wiley E. Cushing, William Canby, Thomas I. Case,	William R. Cole, P. S. Chappell, Ashur Clarke, Hon. Christ. C. Cox, M.D. John R. Cox, Eugene Carrington, William H. Corner, William P. Coale, Frederick M. Colston, Richard Cornelius.
Samuel J. Donaldson, Jr. Thomas Donaldson, Austin Dale, Charles H. Dupuy, Isaac DeFord, Rev. Edwin A. Dalrymple, George W. Dobbin, [D.D.	Thomas DeFord, John Duer, Jr. Werner Dressel, Charles M. Dougherty, John Dukehart, B. DeFord, John H. Duval,	William T. Dixon, Edward C. Dubois, William Daniel, William J. Davison, Garland H. Davison, M.D. Robert Daniel, Rev. Cyrus Dickson, D.D.
Charles J. M. Eaton,	J. B. Eastman,	William Elliott, Jr.

John Fonerden, M.D.  
John V. L. Findlay,

Lt. Col. E. F. M. Faehtz, John T. Ford,  
Richard D. Fisher, [U.S.A. George W. Fay, M.D.

George M. Gill,  
William H. Graham,  
Hon. William F. Giles,  
John W. Garrett,  
Henry S. Garrett,  
Geo. S. Gibson, Jr. M.D.

John Gregg,  
Herman H. Graue,  
William Graham,  
George Gildersleve,  
Geo. W. Gail,  
Rev. Theo. C. Gambrell,

John T. Graham,  
Charles A. Gambrell,  
John S. Gilman,  
David W. Gray,  
C. R. Greenleaf, M.D.

W. Taylor Hall,  
Ira S. Holden,  
Samuel Hurlburt,  
Johns Hopkins,  
Robert S. Hollins,

Edward O. Hinkley,  
Christopher Hinrichs,  
R. K. Hawley,  
Chas. S. Harrison,  
Gerard T. Hopkins,

Theodore Hooper,  
Hayward M. Hutchinson,  
Henry W. Hoffman,  
William Hopkins,  
William H. Hamilton.

Rev. Fielder Israel.

Austin Jenkins,  
J. Stricker Jenkins,  
Henry Janes,

John I. Jacobson,  
William I. Jones,

Rev. Ed. Johnson,  
Thos. F. Johnson, M.D.

John P. Kennedy,  
Robert R. Kirkland,  
Camillus Kidder,  
Wm. M. Kemp, M.D.

Edward M. Keith,  
Ernest Knabe,  
Hon. John C. King,

Francis T. King,  
James C. Kinear,  
John R. Kelso, Jr.

John H. B. Latrobe,  
Benj. H. Latrobe,  
Robert Leslie,  
Alonzo Lilly,

Ferd. C. Latrobe,  
Perley R. Lovejoy,  
Edmund G. Lind,  
Clemens Lamping,

John Leary,  
Alonzo Lilly, Jr.  
C. W. Lentz,  
R. Steuart Latrobe.

Brantz Mayer,  
Ramsay McHenry,  
Leonard Mackall, M.D.  
G. W. Miltenberger, M.D.  
John Murphy,  
Rev. John G. Morris, D.D.  
Joseph H. Meredith,  
William L. Montague,

John Thomas Morris,  
Edgar G. Miller,  
Horace Mayne,  
P. H. Magill,  
William F. Murdoch,  
Thomas J. Morris,  
Edward G. McDowell,  
Thomas Murdoch, M.D.

Charles Markell,  
George C. Maund,  
R. Stockett Mathews,  
Rev. Irving Magee,  
Geo. A. Mills,  
John Moorehead,  
William J. McClellan,  
Russell Murdoch, M.D.

J. C. Neilson,  
J. Saurin Norris,  
J. Macon Nicholson,

John A. Nichols,  
Isaac T. Norris,

Olney J. Norris,  
John A. Needles.

C. Oliver O'Donnell,	Chas. M. O'Donovan, M.D.	Charles L. Oudesluys.
James R. Partridge, Enoch Pratt, Edwin L. Parker, David M. Perine,	Henry Pendexter, Charles E. Phelps, George A. Pope, Faris C. Pitt,	George L. Perry, O. A. Parker, A. A. Perry, William T. Pitt.
William Geo. Read, Joseph Rogers, Jr. Andrew Reese,	Alex. M. Rogers, John L. Reed, Edward Roberts,	Capt. H. Rolando, U.S.N. E. A. Robinson, C. Herbert Richardson.
Samuel W. Smith, Thomas M. Smith, J. H. Stickney, Henry Stockbridge, Thomas Sappington, M.D. Thomas Sewell, Jr. Archibald Stirling, Hugh Sisson,	George Small, Peter G. Sauerwein, William Prescott Smith, William G. Smull, M.D. W. W. Spence, Archibald Stirling, Jr. John M. Smith, Edward C. Small,	George W. Sanders, William H. Sargeant, Rev. Noah H. Schenck, Joseph J. Stewart, [D.D. Samuel M. Shoemaker, William B. Sands, Hervey Shriver, Sylvester S. Stockbridge.
J. Hanson Thomas, M.D. John D. Toy, Richard W. Tyson, John Jacob Thomsen, James Wood Tyson, Charles J. R. Thorpe, Jesse Tyson,	Philip T. Tyson, Allen C. Thomas, Philip E. Thomas, Jr. Jacob Trust, Frederick Tyson, Alexander Turnbull, Wm. George Tiffany,	Henry Tyson, Robert Tyson, Edward Tiffany, James Carey Thomas, M.D. H. C. Tudor, John C. Thomas, John A. Tompkins.
Herman Von Kapff,	W. C. Van Bibber, M.D.	Rev. L. Van Bokkelen, D.D.
David S. Wilson, Henry Webster, Thomas Wilson, Otho H. Williams, William Woodward, Thomas Winans, Hiram Woods,	S. Teackle Wallis, John Whitridge, M.D. John Williams, Charles Webb, Wm. J. Waterman, Henry J. Werdebaugh, Thomas Whitridge,	Augustus Webster, H. L. Whitridge, Rev. John F. W. Ware, James Henry Ward, Charles E. Wethered, Ed. G. Waters, M.D.

MEMOIR  
OF  
JOHN H. ALEXANDER, LL.D;

BY WILLIAM PINKNEY, D.D.

*Corresponding Member of the Maryland Historical Society.*



READ BEFORE THE  
Maryland Historical Society,  
*On Thursday Evening, May 2, 1867.*

PRINTED FOR THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

BY JOHN MURPHY, BALTIMORE, 1867.



## MEMOIR.

NO ONE could feel more painfully than I do the embarrassment of the position, which I am called, by your too indulgent kindness, to occupy to-night; or more sincerely regret, that the duty had not devolved upon another, better qualified, by habits of thought and literary tastes and pursuits, to discharge it in a manner worthy of your deceased comrade and yourselves.

He was my friend, and for full forty years no shadow ever rested on the stream of our friendship. Not so much as a transient cloud crossed the horizon that bounded it. Fresh as the first dewy breath of the morning, that broke on its birth, was its peaceful close.

You know how difficult it is for friendship to rise above the weaknesses of our nature, and wield a pen with the strict and stern impartiality that historic truth demands. To delineate any character, that is at all worthy of delineation, is difficult—so difficult, that but few, who have added to the treasures of Literature in other respects, have succeeded in this, one of its most attractive and important departments. Hundreds can paint battles, draw the picturesque in nature, and color them exquisitely, while but few can give you discriminating and faithful portraiture of the men, who were the controlling genius of the scenes described. Plutarch holds the first place among the painters of men, and his magnificent cartoons will live, as long as the world appreciates the grandeur and glory of the chief actors in its history; and it is really marvellous, how he contrived

to rise above the force of individual and national prejudice, and preserve a strict impartiality in the parallel characters he described. Who then of us can fail to shrink from the attempt to tread a field of literary adventure, so difficult to cultivate and till?

If this be true of the delineation of character generally, how much truer is it of the delineation of such a character as Professor ALEXANDER's? The truth in his life is more wonderful than fable; and the mere recital of the facts that made it so memorable has so much the air of romance, that to those who knew not the deceased, it may appear to be either the blind adulation of weak friendship, or the coloring of an overwrought and dreamy imagination.

Criticism has been levelled against biographers or sketchers of character with all the venom of its nature; and while it is true, that much of what is called biography is a fair subject of scathing rebuke, on the ground of excessive eulogy, it is not true that panegyric is reprehensible, or inadmissible, in the etching of the lights and shades of character. It is as often the case, that criticism itself is wanting in just discrimination, and as prone to accept the vagaries of its own fancy for fact, as it is, that eulogy is occasionally found to overstep the boundaries of truth. To be justly worthy of censure, the panegyric must be excessive. I do not profess to be above the weaknesses of our common nature. But I do desire to be truthful. I shall not complain, if I am only judged by my facts, in the estimate I have formed of the deceased. If what I shall say in praise of him be true, and you find, upon reflection, that it is only praise merited, you will not, I am sure, condemn, but rather applaud me for my truth.

To overdraw the picture would be a wrong to biography, a wanton sacrifice of that which constitutes its greatest charm, viz.: stern impartiality. But to conceal the really attractive features of the picture for fear of giving edge to criticism, and exposing oneself to the flippant charge of excess of admiration, is a not less grievous wrong to the character we are required to draw, and not less subversive of the great end that biography has to serve, the rescuing from oblivion the past, which illuminates and foreshadows the present. To attribute qualities to men, which they do not possess, is an insult to the intelligence of the living, and a weakness to the memory of the dead; while to overlook them, or, for the sake of escaping from the scalpel of a ruthless critic, to permit them to pass unnoticed is to insult the dead, and is by far too costly an offering to be laid on the altar of prejudice. The Scylla and Charybdis are before us; and all the skill of the navigator is needed to steer us safely between them. It will be my duty then to see to it, that I give you no occasion to use the scalpel; and yours, that you do not arraign me for my truth, or censure me for the manly assertion of all that is due to my facts.

Forty odd years ago, on the banks of the Severn, the waters of which have become well nigh classic to Maryland, where still echo the tones of a lofty eloquence and unsurpassed legal logic—I met, in close companionship, a youth then in the very bud of his being. He was not the child of fortune. The cradle in which he was rocked, was made of sterner stuff; and the winds that blew over it, were not summer zephyrs. Like most of the great men of the world, his wealth in the start consisted of a brave heart and strong will. At that early age, he was tall and slen-

der, extremely diffident, rather awkward, and retiring; and yet he possessed all the constituents, which, when developed, make a graceful, imposing, and finely-formed man. His childhood was carefully trained by a mother of the most remarkable beauty and strength of character—the impersonation of all that was lovely and winning in mind and heart—a lady of rare vigor of intellect, and the most refined sensibilities. She watched the budding of this, the youngest flower in the garden of her home, with more than ordinary vigilance; and early impressed him with the dignity of the true faith, and the value of a careful husbanding of his resources. I dwell upon this, because it is only another evidence of the great truth, that a mother has after all more to do with the moulding of the man in the boy, than all beside.

We were advanced to the senior class at college, and there began our most intimate friendship—he at thirteen, I at fifteen. From the start, the contest for the first honor was keen and well sustained. And while that class, between the members of which there never was so much as a jar of ill feeling, divided the first honor on the united judgment of the board and the faculty; we all of us felt, that for thoroughness of scholarship, he was beyond comparison the Achilles of the struggle. At the early age of fourteen, he took his degree; and for steady industry, systematic habits, and striking genius, he was as remarkable as in after years.

We passed out of the college halls together, and entered a law office. For four years, we read, and walked, and talked together; and then began his careful examination of history, and the great principles of the Law, as expounded by its masters. Nothing escaped him, that a youth of his years could compre-

hend. It is my firm conviction, that had he continued at the bar, he would have soon reached the first ranks of his profession. For although he possessed not the gift of oratory, and would probably not have made a brilliant pleader; he had those peculiar powers, clearness of statement, skill of analysis, concentration and amplification, earnest gravity and wonderful fluency, which would have commanded the respect of courts, and the confidence of juries. He was rich in resources, adroit in argument, ready in retort, and sparkling with wit. No man, who ever encountered him in one of those off hand debates that spring up in private conversation, could fail to discover, that it was necessary to call up his reserves, and keep the column of his ideas in line. He possessed singular self-control, and never allowed passion to obscure his reason, or excitement to throw him off his guard. His mind was eminently legal. He blended depth with pleasantry, philosophy with practicalness. If he had pursued the practice, he would have been of that class of lawyers, who delighted, not in the dry letter, but the hidden spirit, and his illustrations would have been drawn from all sources. He felt the grandeur of the profession. Weighing each step in argument and appeal, and possessing the most astonishing fluency, and that too a fluency of the most classic elegance and correctness, he could not have failed to reach the highest place among advocates. I have never met a man, who reasoned with more power and originality on any subject, which he thought fit to discuss. But he did not prosecute the law; and we are therefore estopped from assigning him a place in the list of advocates—all that we can do, is to argue from the clearness and rapidity of his conceptions, the strength of his memory, his collectedness, masculine common sense, and unflinching

industry, qualities we know he possessed. We regret, that he abandoned the profession, and we regret it, because his mode of argumentation would have been so original, and his quiet and beautiful command of language would have given to the bar a style of forensic pleading altogether as unique — as imposing as it would have been novel.

Professor Alexander chose the path of science and literature, and he chose it with the deliberation, that characterized all he did; and on that arena, he won his deathless fame. His first essay was the construction of a map of his native State; and his explorations were marked with the patience and accuracy, that were necessary to complete success. The end was not secured, for though the map was finished, it was not printed, for want of funds, the result of the State's want of enterprise; and it is certainly very curious, that in the two great departments of science and literature, the State faltered, when she should have ventured something, and thus lost the map and the history of her past glory, while her most gifted son of science, Dr. Alexander, and her most eloquent orator and one of her ablest writers, McMahan, were permitted to turn aside to other more remunerative sources of study and active employment. From that day to the close of life, our lamented brother devoted himself to scientific and literary pursuits; at times making a thousand dollar fee, for some opinion on science.

He was a profound mathematician, a poet, a ripe and varied scholar, a laborious and successful writer, and a punctual man of business. He was all this, or I have not read his character aright.

Perhaps his genius for Mathematics was his most masterful power. It would take a mathematician to sketch his character in this particular. If Professor

Bache, whose death he so deplored, who was himself at the head of this branch of learning, a man of the most enlarged views and the most liberal feelings, as much above the narrowness, that so often bounds the vision of the votaries of science — I repeat, if Professor Bache were now alive, he could tell you, how profound Dr. Alexander was in that particular department. His skill and extraordinary accuracy were often tested in the Coast Survey; and much of the fruit of his explorations was stored up in that treasure house of science. What was abstruse he mastered, and what was complex he simplified; so that he could readily solve the most difficult problem, and by the beauty of his method, and the richness of his genius, he could and did devise systems of calculation, that saved hours of labor, and never at the sacrifice of accuracy. I doubt whether any man in this country possessed greater profundity, united to equal accuracy of detail.

As a scholar, it is with more capability of appreciation I can speak of him. A Hebraist, deeply versed in Greek and Latin, as deeply skilled in modern tongues, he was without question the first linguist of this hemisphere. He wrote Latin as readily as he wrote English, with the same beautiful command of words, and skill in construction. When going abroad, he prepared his passports in seven different languages, and for penmanship and attic purity, they were splendid specimens, worthy of the most accomplished masters in either. It was really wonderful to see with what facility he could dash off, at a sitting, Latin verse, as fluently, as though it were his native tongue, and he a poet of the fair Italian clime. He was as exact as he was varied in his gift of tongues. He understood the rules of grammar, the principles of construction, the philology of words; and consequently

he was never betrayed into an error of either interpretation or construction. He had studied Latin and Greek in the school of the ancients, and had mastered the great principles that underlie them. From that stand-point, he had pursued the study of the modern languages. There have been and now are in this country, men skilled in all tongues; but I doubt, whether any one of them had attained his completeness of scholarship. He was trained by a teacher from the Emerald Isle, in the system of grammatical accuracy; and the superstructure he reared was based on the same deep and broad foundation.

His Dictionary of English surnames, in twelve volumes, is now ready for the publishers. It is a stupendous monument of learning, is thoroughly exhaustive of the subject of which it treats, and bears the impress of a strong and original genius. A volume of it was left with a publisher in London, and passed under the inspection of the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge, and was deemed to be by them so complete and satisfactory, that they expressed a desire to incorporate it into a work of their own. Nothing less than a patient and careful examination of it can give any, the least idea, of its magnitude and importance, and that I have neither the time nor the learning to make. When published, as I trust it will be, it will speak for itself more eloquently, than the tongue or the pen of the ablest and most discriminating of his friends could possibly do. His Concordance of the Prayer Book is also finished. The larger work, the Dictionary of that wonderful compilation, was unhappily left unfinished. The *Suspiria Sanctorum*, sonnets for the Holy Days, is ready for publication. It is illustrated by drawings, copied from the masters, the work of his own pencil, which are executed with remarkable taste and spirit.



As it stands, it is a specimen of penmanship, as beautiful as eye ever rested on, and breathes the same richness of poetic imagery, and gracefulness of expression, that characterizes his lyrics.

He turned his attention to the tongue of the Delaware tribe, which was extensively in use among the other tribes of this country. He began by taking up a word here and there, and then a sentence, and with something of the same sort of patient enthusiasm, that characterizes the anatomist, who seeks to put together the disarranged bones of a system not yet understood, he would articulate one sentence into another, until, with the aid of other helps, he reduced to order what was a misshapen mass, and recovered much, that was lost in the dialect of that extraordinary people.

If the gift of language had been his only pursuit, it is scarcely possible to conceive of greater proficiency than he had attained. I have known him to be tested in the most difficult passages, and always found him as ready and accurate, as promptness and accuracy could be. It was his amusement to turn English verse into Latin, and vice versa; and some really exquisite gems have passed under my eye, which were struck off in a moment, extemporized in the most appropriate words and musical rhythm. On a disputed passage either of construction or grammar, his opinion would have been the safest guide. For he was always backed by the rules of grammar, and the idiom of the language, and could not therefore well go amiss.

In that versatility of genius, which marked the character of Professor Alexander, we find that the embryo lawyer, the profound mathematician, was in like manner the ripest of scholars, and most thorough of linguists.

He was also a poet. I do not say a popular poet, for there was too much depth and originality of thought and expression to secure at once the popular applause—too much purity and beauty of language, and calm quiet depth of sentiment, to win its way to the popular heart, save by slow steps. He was however a true poet. His *Introïts* and *Catena* are both works of a high order. I select the latter, because it has just appeared in a new edition. It is curious to see, how he constantly sought after perfection, and elaborated what he undertook to the last degree of polish. The revised edition of this little work exhibits this habit of his mind, in its most winning aspect. Words are substituted, and lines altered, with a richness of resources, that seems to know no exhaustion. It is a string of pearls, not inappropriately called a *Catena*, which will link his name to an immortality, in that serene region, where the sacred muse most delights to dwell, and where she weaves her freshest and most beautiful garlands. The opening piece, the *Prelude*, and the closing piece, the *Valete*, are conceived in his richest vein, and marked throughout with that pathos and depth of feeling, which go direct to the heart. They are exuberant in thought, musical in rhythm, profound in sentiment, and full of heart-revealing. They are gems of their kind, “apples of silver in pictures of gold.” The ideas in the second and third stanzas are exquisite.

“The pictures blurred and canvass torn  
Of deeds mine own and others,”

with

“the funeral march of figures tremulant”

are splendid specimens of word painting. “The luminous chain, which o’erhung, in its span, the azure

canopy" is grandly descriptive of the church's seasons, conceived and expressed in the happiest vein of the sacred muse. The lyric for Easter day, (to take the one nearest to us in point of time,) is a gem. The winter time of Christmas, and its snow white robe so bridal, and so sweetly typical of the coming of the Bridegroom, contrast beautifully with the vernal day of Easter, and is admirably sustained throughout. There is the true poetic ring in the stanza,

"Therefore each rolling year,  
The withered leaves and sere,  
That icy Christmas scatters crisped and torn,  
Wanderers till Easter comes,  
When in their ancient homes,  
And on old forest boughs, they find themselves new-born."

I will not cull out of the Catena the links, that please me most. But I confidently believe, that the day is not distant, when it will be conceded, that the whole chain is of wrought gold, gold of thought, and gold of feeling.

It is a book of poetry, which, to be appreciated, must be studied. That which prevents the immediate popularity of a poem, may tend to secure for it a deathless immortality. Wordsworth "was formerly an object of neglect or derision;" but now to use the language of Coleridge, "he wears the crown, and will continue to wear it, while English is English." Dr. Alexander's poetry is not obscure. It is deep. But depth is clear. It is not however always seen through; for there may be a film on the eye of the reader. It is suggestive. This is perhaps its principle charm. As much is implied, as is expressed; and this, in poetry as in painting, is the perfection of art.

It is somewhat curious to see, how variously poetry has been defined by different writers of acknowledged ability and unquestioned literary taste. I am of the

opinion of Coleridge, that Milton has come nearer to the true conception, than any other writer. "Simple, sensuous, impassioned." Coleridge's own definition is not without merit: "The most proper words in the most proper place." Ruskin has written with his usual brilliancy; and so has Christopher North in the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. They substantially concur with Milton. Judged by this test, and no other is a fair criterion of excellence; the *Catena* is a gem, richly set in a frame-work of gold. It is simple, sensuous, impassioned. Perhaps of these three elements, Professor Alexander was more deficient in the last. At least it was less strikingly developed in his mental organization. He lacks fire, the enthusiasm of inspiration, the fiery frenzy, of which Shakespeare speaks.

Dr. Alexander's poetry is peculiar, of a genus altogether unique, as distinctly marked, as was his genius. It is original in the modes of expression and illustrations. Its chief excellence consists in rich imagery, felicitous language, pure taste, and moral elevation. It has more light than heat, though it is not wanting in warmth. The *Church Journal*, which is one of our most intellectual and discriminating periodicals, writing of this volume, years ago, says, that each piece is possessed of rare jewels, but complains that there is evidence of haste and carelessness. I am satisfied, that what is imputed to haste or carelessness is attributable to Dr. Alexander's peculiarity of thought, and modes of expression. Careless he never was. Faulty at times he may have been, but not careless. I am of the opinion that if he had, like the troubadours of old, recited his poems, they would have been more popular; for his style suited exactly his vocal powers. He neither talked nor wrote like other men.

As a proof of the correctness of this opinion, the new edition just issued has comparatively few alterations; and where it is altered, it is not always improved — as, for instance, *Hesper*, for *twilight*, in the opening piece.

The editor of the *Journal* affirms, that Dr. Alexander is a bold man, because he wrote on the Church's seasons, and followed Keble. Now, I am not so well satisfied that there is much of boldness in this, heretical as it may sound. Heber had walked the same path before Keble, and Heber was a true poet. Keble followed, and in his own line it would have been not only presumptuous but foolish to have sought to follow him. This Dr. Alexander did not do. Both of them drew from the Scripture woven into the service for the day; and yet they drew from different portions of the Word, while neither of them have brought out the teachings of the seasons, as fully as they are brought out in prose. Keble is unapproachable in his own peculiar vein. He is a peculiar star, by himself, with no other star near him in that part of the heavens, which was the highest, where he now sheds the soft beams of his glory — a fixed star of the first magnitude, in the poetic constellation. But Dr. Alexander's was a totally different vein; and no microscope within my reach is strong enough to detect the least resemblance. They cannot be compared, for they are not alike. He must be dead to poetry, who does not trace with delight the footprints of either, and rejoice that the Church's system is so rich and suggestive, as to afford a secure foothold for both. Take the *Easter* or *Trinity* lyrics, and compare them; and they will be found to be as much unlike as two leaves, each resplendent in beauty, and a flowering of its own. To my mind, it would be about as wise to reject the

Japonica because it was not a rose, or deny the privilege of growth to two leaves, because, though totally unlike in form, they were both leaves, as to reject the lyrics of Alexander because they were the products of the seasons, which Keble immortalized. Keble walked in the footprints of Heber, and yet he sustained throughout his own peculiarity of genius; and surely another may step into his, if he has only the power to breathe over it his own rich genius, and preserve his own individuality. This Dr. Alexander did. He was no copyist of Keble, as Keble was no copyist of Heber. No man loves Keble or his genius more than I do. But still the path is open; and of one who has strowed it with the flowers of true poetry, as Dr. Alexander has done, I cannot breathe one word of censure, or think him either bold or presumptuous.

There is nothing, on which criticism is more disposed to issue its flippant decrees, than poetry, music, and painting — and yet there is nothing, which so calls for the exercise of its noblest powers, and keenest discrimination. I respect criticism, and pay all deference to its learned decisions; but I have no patience with that pretentious usurper, who is constantly seating himself in the seat of judgment, and in stupid ignorance of what in reality constitutes the subtle essence of true poetry, and destitution of the imagination, which is needful to its just appreciation, decries what he does not chance to relish.

My learned friend, writing to me a short time before his death, accepts the popular standard of merit, the pay it returns; and modestly waved the claim to the award that will undoubtedly yet crown his noble essay in this most difficult branch of the poetic art. But I do not. Fidelity to the churchly teaching, and the Scripture, woven into the service of the day, hampers

genius, and makes a work, like the *Catena*, doubly difficult. I have no fears of the ultimate judgment which will be passed upon the work. All that I dread is the indisposition to dig deep into the mines of thought—the too fatal propensity to regard poetry solely as the vehicle of pleasure, a pleasure obtained without effort, and not as it is the vehicle of instruction united to pleasure, the pleasure that flows from rich thoughts richly expressed, to the mind and heart, that spring to their work, and are patient in spirit.

Now, is it not wonderful that a mind so wedded to the exact sciences, and so deeply versed in their hidden mysteries, should at the same time have found a wing so strong to soar in the regions of poesy, and have been so well sustained in his flight? A mathematician, bold, original, profound, and a poet who had at command the most proper word for the most proper place, blended in one, and so blended, that the depth in either was as clear as the stream that wells up from some huge rock, on the bosom of which there is not so much as a single ripple. May it not be, as Wilson expresses it, “that poetry and science are identical.”

To cap the climax, Professor Alexander was almost, if not quite, as deeply read in theology and Church history as he was in mathematics and general literature. It is not common for a layman to push his inquiries into this region of thought; nor is it common for him to succeed, if he does. But there was nothing common in the mental calibre of our deceased friend. He prepared and published a tabular statement of the points of doctrine, in which the several systems of religious belief meet and diverge; and I hazard nothing in saying, that this remarkable exhibition of the powers of condensation and accurate discrimination would have been worthy of any Prelate

in Christendom. On one occasion, meeting a distinguished and most learned divine of the Lutheran faith, who did not know him, he asked for information touching some point of belief, when the gentleman replied, I know not where you will find an answer, unless it be in a sheet published by some Dr. Alexander, of Baltimore, which is the most wonderful paper that has ever met my eye. On one occasion, he submitted to me a sermon, which he had composed merely to see how he could manage it; and for beauty of order, purity of language, copiousness of thought, and elevation of sentiment, it was a noble production—strikingly original, and yet thoroughly churchly in its tone. He was, perhaps, the best canonist of his day. The history of the Prayer Book was understood by him as perfectly as by any other man of his age. The Concordance is proof of this assertion.

There is a popular impression, which many men of science have endorsed, that such limitless range of study engenders superficiality, which is ranging every where, but never sounding the depths of anything—and perhaps this impression is in the main well founded. For rare genius is the rarest of all God's creations. But each case must stand on its own merits. There is no Procrustes bed, on which you can stretch genius, so as to make it suit your preconceived theories. Superficiality must be submitted to the actual test of experiment. It is not, and never can be, the result of theory. The diffusion of mental forces may weaken the vigor of some; but it would be a very illogical inference to conclude, that it would be productive of a like result in all. Dr. Alexander attempted many things—but the peculiarity of his genius consisted in this, that he never attempted,



what he did not execute thoroughly. He united amplification and condensation to such a degree, that he could call in his forces, and concentrate them at will; and the base of his operations was always so wisely chosen, that he could bring them to bear in a given point, whenever the emergency required. Those, who thought he unwisely extended the range of his inquiries, and because they were men of one idea, fancied that all men were like them, did not understand the man. He had a department in his brain for each topic he pursued, and had so systematized his plans, that he could either put you in possession of all that was profound in either, or else give you the authority, that was essential to its completeness. I dwell upon this, because it is possible, that some of the learned men of our day may have supposed, that want of thoroughness must have been the characteristic of a mind so boundless in its excursions. Superficiality was a thing he detested; and I am here to-night to vindicate his character in this respect. If superficial, show in what he was; or else, for decency's sake, forbear to immolate him on a theory, which, however it may hold true in ordinary cases, is utterly false as the measurement of extraordinary genius.

The admirable Crichton, the great Scotchman, graduated at twelve, was master of arts at fourteen, spoke and wrote ten different languages, was familiar with science in all its departments, and died at twenty-three. Perhaps he was the nearest approach to our lamented friend, of whom there is any record made.

Professor Alexander was skilled in the art of letter-writing. His penmanship was beautiful. If the letter was on business, it was so clear and lucid in order, and so rich in detail, that nothing was left to be desired; and then there was always some delicate

sentiment introduced to relieve it of the dulness, that would otherwise attach to a mere business transaction. If it was a letter of friendship, why then you might look for the rarest treat; words chosen with the most beautiful appropriateness, and ideas at once the most original and striking, playful or grave, humorous or sarcastic, descriptive or argumentative, as the occasion required. I think some of the finest criticisms I have read have come to me, in the freedom of friendship, in the form of letters, written on the spur of the moment. If those letters could be gathered up, they would constitute a book of the most bewitching character. There was nothing artistic about them; and yet they were characterized by all the best rules of art, well nigh perfect in their kind. They were the etchings of a master—speaking pictures—each picture in its place, and yet there was no evidence of constraint in the gallery. Here again we see that wonderful combination. Many can write, and write beautifully, letters of sentiment, who cannot write letters of business. It was said of Addison, that his greatest difficulty was just here. How to express himself on business, simply and to the point, was the problem. Professor Alexander could do the one as well and as easily as the other; and the business part over, he would insert some gem of sentiment that would set off the whole previous dry detail to the greatest advantage.

A distinguished friend of his, with whom he was spending a few days, told me, that one morning he took up a little book of Latin hymns, and in a few hours wrote a translation, in verse, of the *Stabat Mater*, that was not translated, and inserted the leaves so beautifully, that they looked as though they had been bound up in the volume. Passing out with him for a walk, they came to a brick-yard, when this

friend drew attention to the fact, that they could not make bricks in Connecticut. Professor Alexander immediately explained the cause, and when he was asked, how he came to know so much about it, he said, that he had entered a brick-yard in Baltimore, and worked a month at the trade, until he had thoroughly acquired the art. Here we have the embryo lawyer, the profound mathematician, the erudite scholar, the accomplished theologian, the writer of works exhaustive of the subjects on which he wrote, and the poet—a maker of bricks in the brick-yards of Baltimore, that he might be practically acquainted with the subject.

Perhaps you may say, that all this looks wondrously like the fables of some dreamer; and despite of my protestations of seeking to describe truthfully the character you gave me as my theme, you may be tempted to charge me with extravagant panegyric. But I ask, that the man, among you, who is incredulous, disprove my facts, or else grant with me, that the truth is frequently far more wonderful than fable. I do not hesitate, here in the presence of the most learned of this fraternity, to express my firm belief, that at the time of his death, a superior intellect was not embodied in this country.

He possessed every quality of mind that constitutes true mental greatness—judgment, memory, imagination, quickness of comprehension, an industry that never flagged, and a system that nothing disturbed. His memory retained all it touched. To consult him on any question was to be satisfied without the necessity to look for authority. It was already at hand. He was the most rapid reader. The operations of his mind were almost intuitive. I was often in earlier years, and occasionally in later, accustomed to study

with him ; and I know by experience, how he resembled the lightning flash in conception and discrimination, and with all this rapidity, there was not the slightest sacrifice of accuracy. Nor am I alone in this opinion. A learned Prelate of our church once said to me, that Dr. Alexander was the most accurately learned man he had ever met—and he was competent to judge.

What is as strange, his humility was the most prominent characteristic of his life. He was the most modest learned man I ever saw. While he freely communicated knowledge, it was necessary to draw it out. He volunteered nothing. Respectful of, and attentive to the views of others, he maintained his own with a quiet dignity and unpretending firmness, that are above all praise. It was beautiful to see such humility ; for we seem to have well nigh lost that cardinal grace altogether. Other ages may have been golden—ours is brazen, and by a strange sort of legerdemain we have contrived to make the mint issue a currency of brass, that is rapidly taking the place of gold ; and are acting, as though we believed, that to assume to be, is to be.

What shall I say of Dr. Alexander as a man ? Faultless I will not proclaim him ; for faultless nothing human is. But if I were asked to tell you his faults, I confess to you, in all candor, that I should find it as difficult, as I have done to delineate his intellectual character without seeming extravagance, unbecoming me and the spot, on which I stand. A little too fond he was of disputation ; the proneness, in the circle of his intimate friends, to argue for argument's sake, on any side of any question, to draw out the powers of an advocate. A little too undemonstrative he was. A little too much

absorbed in business. A little too speculative on those nice questions, which a wise man shuns as the secret things that belong to God. A little too distant and reserved. A little given to superstition, and not altogether free from prejudice. Where he felt, he felt deeply; and on one subject, on which we differed *toto cœlo*, the only question on which we differed, he may have indulged a little too much of a hardness, which was foreign to his nature, although I never saw it in the closest intercourse we ever held, and the most unreserved discussions, in which we freely indulged. But this said, all is said, that can be truthfully said of his failings.

I knew him in his boyhood and manhood; from the day when we dreamed dreams together, and builded those castles in the air that were all so gorgeous in their bubble existence, to the day of his death. In all that period of time, we were placed in the closest possible contact with each other, with no concealment on any subject, and scarcely a divided sentiment. In boyhood and manhood, he was high toned, just, exact, sincere, honest and accommodating. A more moral boy never breathed—a truer boy, or one freer from the taint of meanness, I never knew. This testimony, borne here on the spot where his manhood was developed, is but sheer justice to his memory.

What he was in maturer years, you knew as well as I did. Refined in his manners, a gentleman in the true sense of the word, he seemed to me to be governed in his intercourse with others by that considerate thoughtfulness and steady adherence to principle, which commands the respect it pays. Systematic in his business engagements, and scrupulously exact, his word was his bond. At the council board, in the committee room, he was punctual to the hour; and when

there, he addressed himself to the business on hand with a judgment, that passion never clouded, and a zeal that knew no abatement. No one would go farther to serve a friend; while no one more quietly discharged the duty of charity, or disbursed alms, with less ostentation, or more religiously regarded the golden precept of not letting the left hand know, what the right hand did.

To crown all, he was a devout, meek, christian churchman. His piety was unusually serene. A firm believer in the guardianship of an especial Providence, he was as meek in adversity, as he was modest in prosperity. The saddest sorrow; that ever cast its shadow over his heart, only served to bring out more distinctly the beauty of his christian faith, and illustrate the moral bravery, that sustained him, when in the fiery furnace. It is not for me to lift the veil, that curtained a domestic life, as beautiful as eye ever rested on, save only to say to you, that it was there his moral loveliness shone out most gloriously. As a husband, father, brother, friend, he was a model of excellence. It was the *uniformity* of his tenderness, that never faltered, or for a moment passed under eclipse, which gave it its crowning charm. The habits of his life were exceedingly simple and uniform. Society had its attraction, but it was the society of the learned, moral, and refined. Cheerful, he shed a genial sunshine all around him. Never exuberant in spirit, he was never depressed. He took the most philosophical view of life. His great theory was, that no man was essential to society. He believed that the man for the place would never be wanting; and consequently in his extraordinary humility, he never valued himself on account either of his attainments or native powers. I have not a doubt, that

much of his sublime composure was attributable to this wise theory. In one of his last letters to me, which breathes all a woman's tenderness, writing of what he thought must be a source of pleasure to me in the retrospect, he expressed the hope, that notwithstanding the little he had accomplished, he had not lived altogether in vain, so far as duty to home and family was concerned—though even in this, he took but little credit to himself. And yet, if ever any one lived for a purpose high and noble, and lived up to the purpose, he did. He realized that God sitteth above the water floods, King forever; and this filled him with contentment in the lot assigned him.

His death was fully as sublime as his life. When I said to him, that I hoped he would be spared to the church, and permitted to finish the great work he was engaged in, he said so calmly, and with so much meek submission, there is a grander and vaster field beyond us. Though he sometimes indulged in curious speculations, he never permitted a doubt of the truth of the catholic creeds to cross his mind, but laid his vast stores of learning at the foot of the cross, and saw only in that cross the perfection of truth, and recognized in science only the handmaid of faith. And now, that I stand before you to-night, his earliest friend, in the light of forty years' experience of the heart-wealth and mental power of his well-spent life; will you chide me for laying this humble garland on his honored bier?

I appreciate the beautiful in others. I revere the learning and eloquence which have marked their pilgrimage. I admire the flowers of faith, hope and love that have left the scent and freshness of their bloom and rich flowering behind them. I would not detract one iota from their claim on our gratitude and praise.

But I must be allowed to say, that so rare a combination of wealth of mind and wealth of heart, it has not been my privilege to behold in another. His works will live after him, a monument of his industry, vast capabilities, and devotion to the progress of science and literature—more solid and enduring than chiselled marble, or wrought gold, they will enshrine and embalm his memory. Who will take up his unfinished work, and complete it, as he began it? I know not the man. Maryland is rich in historic names. Frederick and Baltimore are both justly distinguished—your own society has stars in it, which will mingle their glory with the stars that have faded. I am to-night in presence of those whom I would praise, if they were not now living to subdue me into silence. Eloquence is hers, such as I think neither Greece nor Rome have excelled. Legal learning, combined with legal logic, is hers, such as never before adorned the courts of judicature. In history, and literature, and science, she has achieved much, through her gifted sons, in the years that are past. Her name still lives, and the lustre of her surviving stars keeps undimmed the noble galaxy, that has faded in the dawning of a brighter day. But she has given birth to another, who, without eloquence, or the skill of the rhetorician, or rather without the theatre for their display, will transmit her name to the ages following, one in a century, whose varied and diversified genius was equal to any duty that could have been assigned to it.

Some of her most honored names live now but in the echoes of the past; and those echoes are so marvellous, that many have deemed them but the creations of a distempered imagination. It may be that much of the brilliancy of the orb that has just set, is



destined to live only in a faint reflection ; since much that he did not live to finish, must perish. But still we will swell the echo of his fame, and claim, as ours, a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of science, literature and theology, and assign to it the position it merits in the constellation. Enough survives to rescue this eulogy from the charge of extravagance, and to demonstrate that exaggerated panegyric is not possible where the mental and moral fruits are so abundant. I little thought that mine would be the duty of strowing a few flowers over his grave, and gathering up the lights and shades of a character that lent so much of sunshine to my own. But for your too indulgent kindness, the presumption of attempting a task so much above my ability, would never have been laid to my charge. I have labored to perform the duty truthfully and impartially, as I honestly believe. I am not conscious that I have, in any one point, drawn upon my imagination, or sacrificed historic accuracy to the weakness of private friendship.

It would be expecting and asking too much, to dream for a moment, that you, whose study in history, and habits of wise and discriminating criticism, compel you to regard with caution the estimate, which private friendship is prompted to place upon the moral and intellectual qualities of another, will endorse all that I have felt it my duty to say in honor of the deceased. But of this I feel confident. You will judge me by my facts, and not condemn the truth of the eulogy bestowed, as far as those facts sustain it ; while you will acknowledge, that a most wonderful genius has passed from among us. “*Memor et amans*” is the motto, you will inscribe on his grave ; and while history and biography remain to bless the world with their reflected lights, you will never forget

a brother, who shared your counsels and deliberations, and has bequeathed to you a good name, unsullied by a vice — a name which is still fragrant with the memories of a kindliness of heart, and truthfulness, that can never fade away. If he had lived to accomplish nothing greater, his learning sanctified by piety, his weaving of science around the cross, with a simplicity so childlike, would entitle him to your lasting gratitude, and secure him a place in your most honored list of names. For the combination is not more beautiful, than it is rare.

It only remains that, I say a word on his personal appearance, and habits of life. Tall, finely formed, erect, and easy in motion, he was a man to be observed. Exceedingly neat and precise in his dress, he never appeared but with the air and bearing of a gentleman. His precision may have occasionally reached the point of stiffness, and to a degree impaired the effect of his personal presence. He was scrupulously observant of the etiquette, that regulates the intercourse of gentlemen. Free in his converse with his friends, he was never familiar.

His library, which was remarkable both for the number and value of its volumes, was the embodiment of taste in arrangement, and neatness of detail; while the desk, at which he wrote, was always in the most perfect order. Even the currency he circulated gave evidence of his refinement. He always kept a new issue by him, and never having occasion to demand change, he never had occasion to use the soiled exchange of the market. Regular in all his habits, he lived by rule, and never departed from the rule laid down. He mingled but little in general society, spent his evenings for the most part at home, and gave certain fixed hours to the loved ones

there. He sat up late. It was in those quiet hours of the night, that he accumulated his vast stores of learning. He ate moderately, but always seemed to relish what he ate. Never idle, he was always at leisure. I was never denied his presence, and never felt, that my visit was an intrusion. His pen, or book was laid aside instantly, while he greeted me with the most winning gracefulness; and then we bounded o'er the sea of friendship, as gaily, as though no work had been laid aside. Never in a hurry, he lost not a moment. He occasionally relaxed his overtaxed energies by a game of chess, which he played well; and in earlier years he sought relief in music, in which he was well skilled. He drew finely, although I believe, he never indulged in colors. He was but fifty-four, when he died. His bodily frame was full of vigor to the last, never enfeebled by disease, and never abused by excesses of any sort.

His life, though one of intense activity, was for the most part spent in retirement; and to that is attributable the fact, that but comparatively few knew, who he was, or what he was. But to the world of science he was well known, and to the more prominent statesmen of the country. The coast surveys were submitted to his inspection, and all disputed questions of geography were referred to him for settlement. On the questions of coinage, which have of late exercised many of the European governments, he was probably the best informed man in the country. I regret that I have not accurate information as to the actual service he rendered in this particular department of science. All that I know, is, that he went abroad, and was brought into close contact with the masters of the mint in England. The triumphs of his genius were signally displayed before the com-

mittee on foreign relations, on the fractional currency. They sent for him to explain it to them, avowing their ignorance of it, and their impression, that it was of little practical importance. Without preparation, he gave them an extended and lucid exposition; and soon convinced them, that it was of vital concernment to the commercial interests of the country. He was consulted by the Secretary of the Treasury, on the finances, and was about to be placed at the head of the mint, in Philadelphia, when death closed his career. When the Hon. Wm. B. Reed was about to go out, as Commissioner, to China, Dr. Alexander sent him the most elaborate and exact explanation of the weights, and measures, and coinage of China, which that gentleman found to be of the greatest possible benefit, in the discharge of his duties, as commissioner.

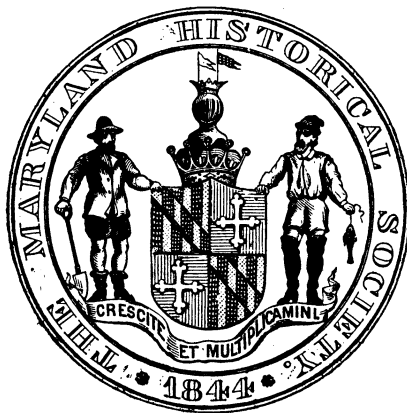
Had not Dr. Alexander's modesty and love of retirement operated to keep him for the most part in private life, he would have been called to fill offices of high public trust, where his admirable talents and systematic industry would have produced the happiest results, and won for him the respect and confidence, which his presence at the coast survey and the national treasury never failed to inspire. I have often regretted that the public service so seldom enjoyed the wisdom of his counsels and the benefits of his systematized labors. And yet, on his own account, I never regretted the privacy of his life; because it kept him fresh and pure, equally free from the tricks of the politician, and the fawning that so often follows upon the patronage of office. His purity was a jewel too precious to be imperilled by the pomp of power, or the pride of station.

In the opening of this brief and imperfect sketch, I said to you, in all frankness and sincerity, that no one could more deeply regret that this duty had not devolved on one of your own number; for this society are not wanting in all the requisites that make up the skilful delineator of character, in discrimination, patience of investigation, and the power of expression. You have already placed the state and the country under obligation, by your contributions to literature. I do well, therefore, to regret that one of your own fraternity had not been detailed for the duty. You, however, willed otherwise, and I have laid on the altar of friendship this unpretending tribute to the memory of the deceased. It bears the impress of haste, which nothing could atone for but the honest plea that I had no more time, as I had not the ability, to make it more worthy of the occasion. In the words of Pliny, writing of one whose death he deplored, I can say, "what a friend have I lost!" I lament his death on my own account, even more than yours; for I have "lost a witness of my life, a guide, a master."





CATALOGUE  
OF  
PAINTINGS,  
AT THE  
**Picture Gallery**  
OF THE  
Maryland Historical Society.



**Seventh Exhibition, 1868.**

---

BALTIMORE:  
PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & Co.  
182 BALTIMORE STREET.  
1868.

## Committee on the Gallery.

---

J. H. B. LATROBE.

J. STRICKER JENKINS.

JOS. H. MEREDITH.

GEO. B. COALE.

E. G. McDOWELL.



# SEVENTH EXHIBITION

## OF THE

### Maryland Historical Society.

---

*The Pictures marked thus (\*) are for sale: For Prices apply to the Door Keeper.*

No.	SUBJECT.	OWNER.	ARTIST.
1	Still Life,	C. J. M. Eaton.	Fyt
2	Portrait,	L. Rabillon.	Lebrun
3	Interior of a Kitchen,	Sam'l W. Smith.	C. Delff
4	Convivial Party,	C. J. M. Eaton.	Hogarth
5	Communion of St. Jerome,	Md. Hist. Society.	After Domenichino by Bartolomei
6	Pigs,	Robt. Gilmor.	G. Morland
7	Mary Magdelene,	Sam'l W. Smith.	Poelemburg
8	Head from an old Picture,	C. J. M. Eaton.	Unknown
9	Portrait of Vivienne,	J. H. Naff.	H. Rigaud
10	After Titian,	P. W. Hairston.	
11	Judith with the head of Holofernes,	Robt. Gilmor.	D. Teniers, Jr.
12	Mary Magdelene Washing the Saviour's Feet,	W. Harrison.	Etty
13	Beatrice Cenci,	P. W. Hairston.	After Guido
14	St. Sebastian,	Robert Gilmor.	Annibale Caracci
15	The Evening Prayer,	Sam'l W. Smith.	Hanff
16	Portrait of Mrs. Robert Gilmor,	Mrs. T. T. Hutchins.	Sir Thos. Lawrence
17	Ladies in a Garden,	Jas. L. Glaghorn.	Watteau
18	Sheep,	Sam'l W. Smith.	Ommeganck
19	Sleeping Cupid,*	Dr. C. Heerman.	Albano
20	Madonna of St. Sixtus,	Md. Hist. Society.	After Raphael
21	Cupid and Sleeping Boys,	Wm. H. Brune.	Albano
22	The Smokers,	Robert Gilmor.	A. Van Ostade
23	A Man's Head,	W. Harrison.	Etty

No.	SUBJECT.	OWNER.	ARTIST.
24	Landscape,	C. J. M. Eaton.	Victor Duprez
25	Portrait of the late Robert Gilmor,	R. Gilmor.	Sir Thos. Lawrence
26	Head,	Brantz Mayer.	Rubens
27	Fruit and Still Life,	Geo. B. Coale.	P. Faes
28	Sheep,	" "	Ommeganck
29	Olden Barneveldt,	" "	Michael Mirevelt
30	A Turkish Nobleman,*	Dr. C. Heerman.	Dietrich
31	A Woman Drinking,	Sam'l W. Smith.	
32	Marine,	" "	Koekkoek, Sr.
33	At Toilette,	Jas. L. Claghorn.	H. Rigaud
34	A Mameluke,	C. J. M. Eaton.	H. Lecompte
35	A Street in Brussels,	" "	Garrerey
36	Peter Martyr,	Md. Hist. Society.	After Titian by Bartolomei
37	View in Amsterdam,	Robert Gilmor.	Van der Heyden
38	Madonna,	Wm. H. Brune.	Sassoferato
39	Sheep,	J. H. Meredith.	G. Morland
40	Landscape with Cattle,	Brantz Mayer.	Herring
41	Wild Boar and Lioness,	J. H. Meredith.	Snyders
42	Landscape and Cattle,	Sam'l W. Smith.	Vander Lieuw
43	Pope Innocent X,	Robert Gilmor.	Velasquez
44	Portrait,	L. Rabillon.	Largillière
45	Scene in Venice,	Sam'l W. Smith.	Cannaletto
46	Dutch Interior,	" "	
47	"Thy seed shall crush the serpent's head,"	Dr. C. Heerman.	†School of Rubens, probably Van Thulden
48	After the Hunt,*	" "	Rombouts
49	Church at Delft,	Robert Gilmor.	Wm. Van Vleit
50	Susannah and the Elders,	Dr. C. Heerman.	†Velasquez
51	A Rainy Night in Milan,	J. H. Meredith.	M. Ferre
52	Landscape,*	R. W. Hubbard.	R. W. Hubbard
53	The Little Image Boy,	J. P. Kennedy.	Benzür
54	Portrait,	H. Von Kapff.	Sir Thos. Lawrence
55	Adoration of the Shepherds called "The Night,"	Md. Hist. Society.	After Correggio
56	Moonlight in Venice,	J. P. Kennedy.	J. T. Hennings
57	Leutze's Daughter,	J. H. Meredith.	W. D. Washington
58	Portrait,	Geo. B. Coale.	T. Sully

† Norz.—These two fine works were for 75 years the property of the family of Count Oberndorff, of Mannheim, Baden.

No.	SUBJECT.	OWNER.	ARTIST.
59	Calvin's First Communion,*	E. H. May,	E. H. May

"Near the city of Poitiers is a cavern which is still called the grotto of Calvin. There, according to tradition, he gathered his friends. In this cavern was celebrated the first (Evangelical) Lord's Supper. A fragment of rock served for a table. Thus in a shadow was laid the basis of the immense influence which Calvin was soon to exercise."

The figure in the cap, behind Calvin, is Theodore Bèze, the translator of the Bible into French. The young man by his side is Vernon of Poitiers, one of the early companions of Calvin. The man bending down in a brown cloak in the left hand corner, is Du Tillet, another of the early Reformers. Calvin presents the cup instead of the bread; one of the distinctions between the Romanists and Protestants being, that the Protestants administer the sacrament in both kinds. Calvin is dressed in the costume of a lawyer of that day; that being still the official garb of Protestant clergymen of the French and Geneva Churches, and commonly used by the early Reformers. It is the same gown still used by the lawyers in the French Courts of Justice. His head is represented with the tonsure which he had received as a Roman Catholic Priest.

60	The Coming Storm,*	Jas. M. Hart,	Jas. M. Hart
	"In rueful gaze, The cattle stand, and on the scowling heavens Cast a deploring eye."		
61	Landscape.	D. L. Bartlett.	L. R. Mignot
62	Shawangunk Mountains,	G. R. Vickers.	S. R. Gifford
63	Devotion,*	M. Knoedler.	Castan
64	The Hay Wagon,	G. R. Vickers.	Verschuer
65	The Convalescent,	Jas. L. Claghorn.	R. Hübner
66	South American Landscape,	Dr. Wm. H. Keener.	L. R. Mignot
67	Portrait,	Hovenden.	Hovenden
68	Sunday Afternoon in Berkshire,	L. Thomsen.	Jas. M. Hart
69	Rocks of Capri,	Dr. F. W. Lewis.	A. Flamm
70	Winter,	J. H. Meredith.	Koster
71	The Spy,	J. H. Meredith.	E. Leutze
72	The Vintage,	Geo. B. Coale.	A. R. Veron
73	Landscape,*	L. Rabillon.	Corot
74	Waiting for the Locomotive,	Dr. Wm. H. Keener.	L'Enfant de Metz
75	Near Bougival, France,	Edw. G. McDowell.	Lambinet
76	Italian Boy,	R. M. Olyphant,	D. Huntington, PNA
77	Moonlight,	W. T. Blodgett.	A. Achenbach
78	Twilight,	J. Stricker Jenkins.	F. E. Church
79	Visit to the Fortress,*	M. Knoedler.	Vibert
80	Landscape,	G. R. Vickers.	H. Bolton Jones, Balto.
81	Summer in the North,*	James M. Hart.	James M. Hart
82	The Horse Market,	J. H. Meredith.	Otto Weber
83	Maternal Affection,	Dr. L. T. Warnér.	Mèrle
84	After Sunset on the Nile,	Wm. H. Keith.	W. H. Keith, Balto.
85	Late Afternoon,*	Saml. Colman.	Saml. Colman

No.	SUBJECT.	OWNER.	ARTIST.
86	Coast of France,	M. F. H. de Haas,	M. F. H. de Haas
87	View on the Hudson,	J. Stricker Jenkins.	J. F. Kensett
88	Papa's Portrait,	Eastman Johnson.	Eastman Johnson
89	Portrait,	J. Stricker Jenkins.	G. A. Baker
90	Herring Run,*	H. Bolton Jones.	H. Bolt. Jones, Balt.
91	Autumn in the Catskills,*	Jervis McEntee.	Jervis McEntee
92	Prayer,*	M. Knoedler.	Chaplain
93	Capri,	C. Blake.	Chas T. Dix
94	The Attic Philosopher,	C. L. Mayer.	F. B. Mayer, of Balt.
95	Raining Cats and Dogs,	W. H. Beard.	W. H. Beard
96	Landscape,	Dr. W. H. Keener.	A. B. Durand
97	Barn Yard, *	J. S. Rice.	C. Jacques
98	New England Interior,	J. F. Kensett.	Eastman Johnson
99	Winter,	J. Bohlen.	E. Frère
100	Cattle,*	E. W. Bailey.	Verboeckhoven
101	Autumn,	J. Bohlen.	E. Frère
102	Margaret,*	Louis Lang.	Louis Lang
103	Fruit,*	M. Knoedler.	Desgoffe
104	Lonely Days,	L. Thomsen.	E. Benson
105	Landscape,*	John R. Key.	J. R. Key, of Balt.
106	The Wood Gatherers,	B. F. Newcomer.	Dargelas
107	Inspiration,	Geo. Whitney.	S. J. Guy
108	Grapes,*	A. J. H. Way.	A. J. H. Way, of Balt.
109	Lake of Garda,	J. Stricker Jenkins.	S. R. Gifford
110	Norwegian Fjord,	Wm. Gilmor, Jr.	Jacobsen
111	Near Windsor, England,	R. M. Olyphant.	J. F. Kensett
112	Lady arranging Flowers,*	M. Knoedler.	Plassan
113	Kaaterskill Cove,	Geo. B. Coale.	S. R. Gifford
114	Swiss Lake,	L. Thomsen.	J. W. Casilear
115	The Twilight,*	M. Knoedler.	Hamon
116	Expectation,*	J. P. Beaumont.	W. Amberg
117	Little Red Riding-Hood,	J. M. Flanagan.	Lassalle
118	Lady Sewing,*	M. Knoedler.	H. Merle
119	Landscape,*	H. Bolton Jones.	H. B. Jones, of Balt.
120	Coast at Newport,*	S. Colman.	S. Colman
121	Spring,	Geo. Whitney,	W. T. Richards
122	Romeo and Juliet,	J. Stricker Jenkins.	Jalabert
123	French Pensioners,	J. L. Claghorn.	Madou
124	The Harvest Lunch,	J. M. Flanagan.	Veyrassat
125	Pulpit Rock Nahant,	S. M. Shoemaker.	W. S. Hazeltine
126	Genessee Valley,*	S. P. Avery.	J. F. Kensett

No.	SUBJECT.	OWNER.	ARTIST.
127	Winter,	Geo. Whitney.	W. T. Richards
128	Connecticut River, near Bellows Falls,	J. Wheelwright.	A. W. Thompson, of Baltimore
129	Trooper in a Snow Storm,	J. Stricker Jenkins.	Schreyer
130	The Hunter's Story,*	J. S. Earle.	Seitz
131	Beach near Salem,	D. L. Bartlett.	J. F. Kensett
132	Light and Shade,*	J. G. Brown.	J. G. Brown
133	Disappointment,*	J. P. Beaumont.	W. Amberg
134	Lady arranging Flowers,*	M. Knoedler.	Plassan
135	Summer Evening,	L. Thomson.	J. McEntee
136	Landscape,*	Geo. Inness.	Geo. Inness
137	Conjugal Pic-Nic,	J. H. Meredith.	Schloener
138	The Artist,	J. H. B. Latrobe.	F. B. Mayer, of Balt
139	Landscape,	L. Thomsen.	S. Colman
140	Marine,	Dr. W. H. Keener.	M. F. H. de Haas
141	Grapes,*	A. J. H. Way.	A. J. H. Way, of Balt.
142	The Relief,*	M. Knoedler.	Dansaert
143	Eloisa and Abelard,*	Edw. Van Reuth,	E. Van Reuth, of Balt
144	Landscape, Western Virginia,	Jos. Reynolds.	W. L. Sontag

**SMALL ROOM.**

145	The Little Prisoner,	Geo. Whitney.	Beranger
146	The Doubtful Move,	Wm. Gilmor, Jr.	Carolus
147	Autumn in Vermont,	L. Thomsen.	A. D. Shattuck
148	Reverie,	J. Stricker Jenkins.	Geo. A. Baker
149	Night after the Battle,	B. F. Newcomer.	Saeschin
150	"Maiden Meditation, Fancy Free,"	D. L. Bartlett.	H. Peters Gray
151	Prayer,	B. F. Newcomer.	Lobdejoy
152	"You can't Pass Here,"	J. L. Claghorn.	Beaumont
153	Happy Family,	B. F. Newcomer.	Robbe
154	Landscape, late Afternoon,	James Cortlan, Jr.	A. B. Durand
155	On the Cheat River,*	John R. Key.	John R. Key, of Balt.
156	The Card Party,	Jos. Reynolds.	Williams, R. A.
157	The young ones wide awake,*	Louis Lang.	Louis Lang
158	Lake of Lucerne,	D. L. Bartlett.	J. W. Casilear
159	The Chaplet,	D. L. Bartlett.	D. Huntington
160	Landscape,*	Geo. Inness.	Geo. Inness
161	Lake Thun,	J. W. Casilear.	J. W. Casilear
162	Brittany Peasant Girl,	J. Stricker Jenkins.	G. H. Boughton

No.	SUBJECT.	OWNER.	ARTIST.
163	Ducks,	J. H. Meredith.	G. Sus
164	Landscape,	B. F. Newcomer.	Jules Rozier
165	Autumn, Ulster County, N. Y.*	Wm. Hart.	Wm. Hart
166	Afternoon by the Stream,*	Jas. M. Hart.	Jas. M. Hart
167	Titian's Daughter,	P. W. Hairston.	
168	View in Antwerp,	S. W. Smith.	
169	Black Mountain,	J. W. Casilear.	J. W. Casilear
170	Luther entering the Town of Worms,	J. Cortlan, Jr.	L. Clasen
171	Lake of Uri,	J. W. Casilear.	J. W. Casilear
172	A Cromwellian,	J. L. Claghorn.	E. Leutze
173	Easter Morning,	Mary T. Hart.	Jas. M. Hart
174	The Siesta,	J. L. Claghorn.	Devedeux
175	Autumn.	D. L. Bartlett.	J. McEntee
176	Arrest of Henry IV, Emperor of Germany, 1066.	J. Cortlan, Jr.	L. Clasen
177	Behind the Village,	L. Thomsen.	A. F. Bellows
178	Shore at Nahant,*	Wm. Hart.	Wm. Hart
179	Portrait of S. R. Gifford,	E. P. Bowers.	E. P. Bowers, Balt.
180	Portrait, Lady and Horse,	C. C. Fulton.	G. D'Almaine, "
181	Beverly Beach,*	S. P. Avery.	J. F. Kensett
182	Summer,	H. Von Kapff.	Koekkoek
183	Winter,	H. Von Kapff.	Koekkoek
184	Frosty Morning,*	J. McEntee.	J. McEntee
185	Approaching Storm,*	J. P. Beaumont.	L. DeBeal
186	Landscape,	J. Wheelwright.	A. Howland
187	Portrait of Dr. Leide,	E. P. Bowers.	E. P. Bowers, Balt.









